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TORTURE'S DIRTY SECRET
Naomi Klein

BRAZIL SAYS *NÃO* TO BUSH
Esther Kaplan

THE MISSING PATRIOT DEBATE
David Cole

THE FAMILY WORLD SYSTEM
Perry Anderson

PLANET WAVES
Stuart Klawans

DR. HAGER'S FAMILY VALUES

SHOULD THIS MAN BE ADVISING BUSH ON WOMEN'S HEALTH?

by AYELISH McGARVEY

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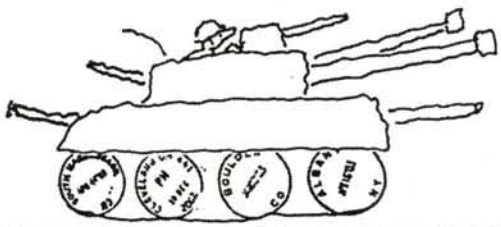

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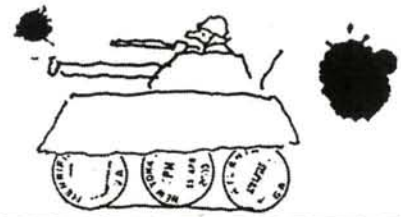

R.O.BLECHMAN

Death Camp or Gulag...?

New York City

■ In his March 28 review, "Jews Without Borders," Daniel Lazare seems to misunderstand my book *The Orientalist* (as well as the novel *Ali and Nino*) while using both as a proxy to vent his apparent resentment at *The New Yorker*, from which he supposes I have "absorbed all too well" my political line. In Lazare's personal media conspiracy, he must imagine me and David Remnick and a roomful of editors sitting around a table—or perhaps a graveyard at midnight—hatching our heinous plot to impose "moderation" on the world. First, let me plead guilty to believing that "the truth lies always in the middle, and that extremists of the left and right are brothers under the skin." But let me also break the news to Lazare that I come by my anti–extreme politics on my own.

Though I think most *Nation* readers will see through his odd attacks, the insinuation that I prefer Nazis to Communists is deeply offensive. (It's also illogical, since he has my number as a man of the middle.) As the introduction to this book makes plain, my interest in fascist Europe—and the unique character of Lev Nussimbaum—comes out of the fact that most of my family were wiped out by the Nazis. My mother herself barely escaped this fate.

Before working on *The Orientalist*, I had spent the previous five years writing about neo-Nazism and other far-right movements. Yet Lazare actually compares me to Ernst Nolte, the right-wing German historian who ignited the so-called *Historikerstreit* in the 1980s (before making a snotty remark to the effect that I'm not as serious an intellectual as he was, which I take as an inadvertent compliment), and misrepresents Nolte while he's at it: Nolte wasn't controversial merely because he compared Communist and Nazi terror but because he implied that the former *justified* the latter. The facts are that the Cheka did murder people of all ages in cold blood, often after torturing them in hideous and purely sadistic fashion; the Gestapo did model itself on the Cheka, and Gestapo chief Heinrich Müller was an avid admirer of Soviet secret-police methods. Of course, none of this mitigates Nazi crimes but rather the reverse: It compounds the nightmare of those years by showing that millions of victims were trapped between bloodthirsty regimes that strove as much to emulate and outdo each other in ruthlessness against internal "enemies" as they did to destroy each other on the battlefield.

But all this points to the more basic flaw in Lazare's understanding of the period, which he can only see through the lens of his own political diatribes: He writes as though he is exposing a truth when he comments that Lev Nussimbaum did not leave Berlin in 1933 as an "anti-Nazi refugee." For one thing, Nussimbaum left Berlin in 1933 for the main reason that all Jews who could left Nazi-run countries—not because they were politically anti-fascist but because they were Jews. Nazism persecuted primarily because of race, not politics, a fact that is apparently as hard for Lazare to grasp as it was for the old Stalinist government of East Germany. (I remember my visit to the concentration camp memorial at Buchenwald in 1990, when the SS barracks were still being run as an East German Communist Youth Hostel, and no mention at all could be found that most of the camp's victims had been Jews.)

Following from this attitude, Lazare has little sympathy for or interest in Nussimbaum's real plight: that no matter how far he transformed himself culturally, politically, religiously, he remained equally a target because he was a Jew. Lazare presents as his own revelation something I bring up in the introduction: In a letter at the end of his life, when he was dying, Nussimbaum wrote that he hoped for an Axis victory in Russia. This is one of the main themes I announce at the beginning and examine throughout the book: Such disturbing contradictions are at the heart of his character and transformations. But we need also to consider that in the letter, he is writing to a Mussolini supporter who has become his main source of money for food and medicine, and who may be able to help keep his father from being deported to a Nazi death camp. Though it's impossible to untangle all the motives Lev had in this last year of his life, it's fairly certain that heartfelt support for Hitler was not one of them.

But Lazare mistakes the genre I am writing in, supposing that I am constructing a political tract or a heroic political biography in which I aim to propose my subject as a political model. For such readers, one needs to put a label on the cover: "Caution: Not intended for easy answers. Do not try any of this at home." And while I don't want to go into all the ways that Lazare twists my portrayal of Jewish Orientalism, I will gladly plead guilty on Nussimbaum's behalf to his use of the East "as a backdrop for his own imagination." In fact, Lev Nussimbaum's main accomplishment was to create an "Orient of the Imagination—a mountainous realm insulated from political and ethnic conflict, a refuge where no secret policeman can follow, and where anyone with the courage to climb down a rope into the abyss is accepted."

TOM REISS

LAZARE REPLIES

New York City

■ Sorry, but some answers are easy, most notably those having to do with the Nazis versus Soviets during World War II. Millions in Eastern Europe were most definitely not trapped between two "bloodthirsty regimes." To the contrary, they were trapped by one regime and were yearning for liberation—yes, liberation—at the hands of the other. The Warsaw Ghetto freedom fighters, who included a sizable Communist contingent, would have been appalled at any suggestion that the two sides were on the same moral plane. So, presumably, would many of Reiss's murdered relatives, whom he insists on dragging onstage at every opportunity. Monstrous as Stalin's crimes were, he was not a Hitler, and the Soviet experience in general was far more complex than Reiss, with his simplistic worldview, seems to realize.

Reiss's politics can be described as "anti-extreme" only in the context of a country increasingly dominated by the extreme right. Otherwise, they are evidence that while the left emerged victorious from the German *Historikerstreit* of the 1980s, here it is the other side that has come out on top. From *The New Yorker* on down, the party line is that Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union were both totalitarian, that all totalitarians are alike and that hence there was not a dime's worth of difference between the two. My point about this sort of convergence theory is that it leads to sloppy thinking about specific causes and effects. The more one adheres to the belief that "extremists of the left and right are brothers under the skin," the more differences between Nazi death camps and the Stalinist gulag seem to vanish and Auschwitz and Kolyma merge into one. It is then a short step to the right-wing thesis that since Stalin preceded Hitler chronologically, he paved the way for him politically, organizationally and ideologically.

Reiss takes umbrage at my remark that "he seems to regard the left as a bit more equal than the right" when it comes to responsibility for various twentieth-century horrors. But what other conclusion can one draw from his comment in *The Orientalist* that the radicals who assassinated Czar Alexander II in 1881 "indirectly caused the deaths of tens of millions who would perish in the famines and gulags of the next century"? The only purpose of such a statement is to get czarism off the hook and focus the blame instead on a handful of anarchists. Reiss would be outraged if some neo-Nazi website were to argue, for instance, that Herschel Grynszpan, the distraught Jewish teenager who shot a Nazi embassy official in Paris in retaliation for his

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EDITORIALS

Anti-war, Pro-democracy

On April 20 Democratic National Committee chairman Howard Dean tried to steer his party out of a forceful position on Iraq: "Now that we're there, we're there and we can't get out," he told an audience of 1,000 in Minneapolis. Dean's comment was startling not just because the chairman stepped so far back from the vigorous posture of his presidential campaign but because public opinion is so actively and rapidly moving away from the Bush Administration's Iraq policy. In a recent Gallup poll, Iraq topped the issues Americans would like to discuss with the President, and three-quarters of those for whom Iraq is the top issue want to see an American withdrawal.

The public increasingly recognizes what Washington has been slow to accept: Indefinite US occupation will lead neither to peace in Iraq nor to genuine democracy. Early May saw American military dead exceed 1,600; Iraqis killed by the dozens in escalating bombings; the nascent Iraqi government still squabbling over portfolios three months after the election; the emergence of an official Iraqi death squad made up of ex-Baathists; the cost of the war move past $200 billion with passage of the $82 billion emergency war spending bill; and the Inspector General's scorching report on $100 million in unaccounted-for reconstruction funds. The occupation of Iraq is a military, fiscal and moral crisis. Democrats who rejected Dean's defeatism (among them Tom Hayden and Dennis Kucinich, whose open letters to Dean can be read at www.thenation.com) correctly argue that if their party tries to evade a strong and principled position on ending the occupation it will lose credibility *and* votes.

The Administration portrays the choice in Iraq as between occupation and insurgent atrocity. But it's a false choice. Practical alternatives already exist. In the Iraqi election the consensus of all leading parties was that there is a need for a timetable for American withdrawal. Only a timetable accompanied by, and spurring, negotiations among all parties will give hope for an end to the instability and violence. One lesson from Vietnam, Palestine and Northern Ireland is that many insurgent nationalists can be drawn in, isolating those addicted to nihilistic sectarian violence.

An end to occupation also requires accountability, on all sides, for war crimes and corruption. There is undeniable historic justice in bringing Saddam and his associates to trial. But those trials will further disillusion Iraqis if they're held without an effort to assign high-level US responsibility for torture in Abu Ghraib, rendition of prisoners, civilian deaths, theft of funds and other grievances. An end to occupation also means concrete plans for providing international assistance and support for Iraqi-led reconstruction, along with abandoning dreams of US-controlled oil supplies and long-term military bases. By contrast, continued occupation, with Washington controlling the government, the purse strings, oil revenues and public safety, can only erode Iraqi democratic aspirations.

The US antiwar movement—activists outside and inside electoral politics—must now seize the language of democracy that Bush has so devalued, finding ways to support the majority of Iraqis who want to regain control of their own future. As Naomi Klein said recently at a teach-in sponsored by the Institute for Policy Studies, "The future of the antiwar movement requires that it become a pro-democracy movement." And with Iraqis and Americans alike growing impatient, the future vitality of the Democratic Party requires that it become a strong voice for an end to occupation.

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COMMENT

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A Note on the Cover Story

With its detailed allegations of marital sexual abuse, the article by Ayelish McGarvey about FDA adviser and conservative Christian author Dr. David Hager is likely to stir controversies of various kinds. Some readers, for example, may be disturbed by the story's graphic content. As a magazine we have maintained a strong presumption against the publication of embarrassing personal facts about politicians with whom we disagree, even if disclosing those facts would be politically expedient. But in this case, we feel that these serious allegations are relevant to Hager's public role as custodian of women's health in the Bush Administration. As McGarvey writes, "The public has a right to call on Dr. David Hager to answer [these] charges before he is entrusted with another term." He is up for reappointment in June.

COMMENT

Just Say Não

In early May, Brazil declared its defiance of American *diktats* abroad. The country's national AIDS commissioner, HIV doctor Pedro Chequer, turned down $40 million in US assistance for its fight against AIDS rather than sign a statement condemning prostitution. "For us it was an ethical issue," Chequer told *The Nation*. "We have to reach every segment of society, with no discrimination. Besides, no country is supposed to decide what another country must do." At a time when the Bush Administration has elected itself not only the world's cop but its pope, too, Brazil's audacity carries the shock of the new.

Over the past two years, organizations around the world have been asked to sign similar statements and to halt their advocacy for sex workers' rights, the result of restrictive language slipped into AIDS and human-trafficking bills by Representative Chris Smith, a morality crusader who began his career as director of New Jersey Right to Life. According to human rights advocates, most have signed rather than risk losing crucial funds, but Brazil insisted that USAID negotiate directly with its AIDS commission rather than with individual NGOs, and this changed the balance of power.

According to Chequer, seven government ministries have seats on the commission, and all voted unanimously to support his decision and to fill the funding gap. In Brazil, where prostitution is legal, the government was unwilling to turn its back on a population that's not only among the most vulnerable to HIV but also among the most active in combating it. "Sex workers are part of implementing our AIDS policy and deciding how to promote it," Chequer says. "They are our partners. How could we ask prostitutes to take a position against themselves?"

Brazil's aggressive approach to controlling AIDS, which includes HIV treatment, massive condom distribution and explicit HIV education, has produced one of the few success stories in the developing world: In the early 1990s experts projected 1.2 million infections in Brazil by 2000, but the interventions cut that number in half. In meetings over the past several weeks, Chequer con-

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COMMENT

vinced USAID to pull its emphasis on abstinence from the grant agreement. But the anti-prostitution policy was a deal breaker. He says this "theological" restriction would have "wasted money, wasted time and promoted the dissemination of HIV."

Brazil's act of resistance is especially important as the right intensifies its campaign to attach fundamentalist restrictions to foreign aid. Representative Henry Hyde is seeking to withdraw funds from groups that object to pushing abstinence, while Representative Mark Souder is leading a campaign to match the anti-prostitution pledge with one condemning needle exchange. In guidelines for grants to stop human trafficking, the Administration now explicitly privileges organizations "that are and have been supportive, in policy and programs, of US Government policies" on prostitution—marking the thoroughgoing politicization of the grant-making process. Thus, while grassroots organizations in Cambodia, Thailand and India that advocate for sex workers were losing funding, Concerned Women for America, a conservative lobby group with no experience in the field, received a $113,000 anti-trafficking grant in November.

Soon the crusade will land on our shores. In the past, US groups, sheltered by the First Amendment, were exempt from such policies as the infamous gag rule that requires overseas NGOs to forswear abortion services and advocacy or lose US aid. But in response to a creative legal interpretation by the Justice Department, new rules will extend the anti-prostitution pledge to Americans. Rebekah Diller, an attorney at NYU's Brennan Center for Justice, calls the Justice Department directive unconstitutional. "The government can tell you how to spend its funds," says Diller, "but it can't direct you to adopt a particular viewpoint. It's not unlike the loyalty oaths of the McCarthy period, and there's a lot of case law striking down those oaths."

Leaders of fourteen major American charities that receive USAID money sent a letter of protest to Randall Tobias, Bush's global AIDS coordinator, in February. "We see this as an overreaching of government authority," says one signatory, Maurice Middleberg, vice president of EngenderHealth, which runs AIDS programs in Africa and Asia. "We shouldn't have to agree with Administration policy in order to do the work of saving lives." Middleberg says Tobias responded firmly that "this is the government's policy, and since the DOJ released its letter it's also a matter of law."

Brazil can absorb the loss of US support, as 90 percent of its AIDS program is funded from its own coffers. But small HIV prevention efforts in places like Southeast Asia, where sex work and drug use drive the AIDS epidemic, are far more vulnerable. Some, such as the Women's Network for Unity in Cambodia, chose like Brazil not to sign a statement opposing prostitutes' rights and sacrificed US funding; others have quietly avoided programs, like English-language instruction, that could offer a path out of sex work but might be construed as "supporting" prostitution. These organizations "don't want to leave their clients hanging in the wind," says Ann Jordan, who directs anti-trafficking initiatives for the human rights group Global Rights. Humanitarian groups in the United States that fund many of these struggling activists abroad will soon be handed their own loyalty oaths. Perhaps they'll join Brazil's rebellion.

ESTHER KAPLAN

Esther Kaplan is the author of With God on Their Side *(New Press), about George W. Bush and the Christian right.*

CALVIN TRILLIN

DEBATE ON DEMOCRACY

Democracy in Russia now, Bush said,
Is shaky—causing Putin to retort
That Bush himself is hardly one to talk,
Since he was put in power by a court.

That's right: This Putin talks as if the court
Decided on its candidate, then stretched
To find a way to justify that choice
By bits of law, no matter how farfetched.

Old cold war stuff, some said. They thought it droll
That Putin still could view our world so blackly
He'd think Bush got in office by a coup,
Which couldn't happen here. Well, not exactly.

A Losing Gamble

Minnesota's governor, Tim Pawlenty, has become something of a poster child for antitax Republicans. He has even been declared presidential material by such conservative lights as Paul Weyrich. Besides being young and quite good-looking in an aw-shucks sort of way, he won election in 2002 on a no-new-taxes pledge, and he's sticking to it—with predictable results. Most notably, Minnesota public schools have taken a dive, a development that probably cost the GOP dearly in the November election, when it lost thirteen seats in the Minnesota House.

It's clear that pressure to fund the public sector in this traditionally progressive state, where Democrats control the Senate and nearly regained the House in 2004, is getting dangerously high from Pawlenty's viewpoint. He would like to salvage the situation with gambling money. Bucking both the state GOP platform and his own earlier declarations of principle, he's been pushing hard for an expansion of Indian gaming, with the state taking a cut of the proceeds.

Variations of this scenario are being played out around the country. Tribal casino revenues last year were about $18.5 billion, according to the National Indian Gaming Association, and Indian gambling is an increasingly tempting target for cash-strapped states and municipalities. In California, Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger is counting on it to help close the state's projected $8 billion budget shortfall.

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COMMENT

In Minnesota eleven tribes run eighteen casinos. All are on reservation land, with the tribes getting all the profits. A few Dakota (also known as Sioux) bands located an easy bus or car ride from the Twin Cities have prospered, but others, notably three bands of northern Ojibwe, or Chippewa—including those at Red Lake, where the recent school shooting occurred—don't do as well.

Minnesota legislators are now trying to write a two-year state budget but are finding themselves about $470 million short. Last year's early iteration of the Pawlenty proposal had Red Lake and the two other northern Ojibwe bands running new Twin Cities casinos in exchange for providing an up-front payment and a continuing revenue stream worth $350 million. Ojibwe tribes were essentially being invited to encroach on a Dakota franchise. The proposal brought charges of divide-and-conquer tactics. For some, it evoked enmities that go way back: Red Lake, according to some accounts, got its name after Ojibwe warriors killed so many Dakota during a battle there that the water turned red.

But the proposal did get support from some progressives, including State Senator Sandy Pappas, probably one of Minnesota's most progressive officeholders. Gambling, she argues, is destined to expand in any case, and she'd like to see an arrangement that benefits the neediest tribes as well as the state. It's been a hard sell. "The Senate Democratic caucus doesn't want to use gambling to balance the budget," she says. "They want to force the governor to raise taxes. I understand that. Personally, I think we need both."

Some powerful Republican interest groups also don't want to use gambling to balance the budget. They include, as one would expect, the religious right. And the Taxpayers League of Minnesota—headed by David Strom, who in recent years has been as close to a kingmaker as this state produces, and a big Pawlenty booster—has also come out strongly against.

With just weeks left before the end of the current session, Pawlenty moved to a Plan B, which would put two casinos—one run by the state and one run by tribes—at the existing suburban Twin Cities racetrack. This plan was dealt a blow when only one of the three northern tribes, White Earth, signed on.

John McCarthy, executive director of the Minnesota Indian Gaming Association, says Pawlenty has few choices to balance the budget. "It's either raise taxes or come up with some additional money," he says, noting that the Democratic caucus "is holding pretty firm" against a gambling deal. And, he observes, in other states—Florida, New York and California among them—Republicans are experiencing variations on Pawlenty's dilemma. "They are not gambling-prone, but they are also not tax-prone, and this seems to be the lesser of the two evils."

The National Indian Gaming Association doesn't take a position on deals with the states, except that they must be "fair and equitable," according to chairman Ernie Stevens Jr. But in a recent speech he addressed the tax-versus-gambling issue directly. Whatever the states' difficulties, he said, "tribal governments did not create these problems—and tribal governments shouldn't be looked to as a way out." DAVID RUBENSTEIN

David Rubenstein is a writer living in Minneapolis.

In Fact . . .

SAYING A GOOD WORD FOR *AMERICA*

■ Norman Birnbaum writes: For the past seven years, Father Thomas Reese, as editor of the Jesuit weekly *America*, opened its pages to most of the controversies within the Catholic Church—abortion, condoms, stem-cell research, sexuality and church governance. The former Cardinal Ratzinger, guardian of doctrine in the Vatican, made known his extreme displeasure with the magazine. Now Father Reese has resigned. Reportedly, Jesuit headquarters in Rome thought that a conciliatory gesture to the new Pope was appropriate, but many American Catholics are appalled. They fear that the former Cardinal, now Pope Benedict XVI, will continue to censor debate in the church. True, the Jesuits know how to serve popes while subtly defying them. Father Reese's successor, associate editor Father Drew Christiansen, pointedly remarked that he would consult Father Reese. Catholics and non-Catholics alike should express their solidarity with *America*.

GET USED TO IT, TONY

■ D.D. Guttenplan writes: On the morning after his party was returned to power with the lowest popular vote of any government in a century, British Prime Minister Tony Blair acknowledged the loss of forty-seven Labour seats in a revealing phrase: "I—we—the government—are going to focus relentlessly now on the priorities the people have set for us." In the closing days of the campaign it was obvious that outrage at the war had made Blair, once his party's biggest asset, an albatross around the necks of Labour candidates. Speculation about how long Blair will hold on began even before the votes were counted. But as his regal identification with the government suggests, the Prime Minister won't go quietly. Indeed, his postelection Cabinet reshuffle, though granting a few spots to allies of Chancellor (and presumptive successor) Gordon Brown, was a promise of business as usual. Still, Blair's much reduced majority gives Labour's surviving radicals much more leverage; controversial proposals for national identity cards and further privatization of the health service are unlikely to get through. And with the election of Ed Miliband in Doncaster and Nick Clegg in Sheffield Hallam, Parliament now has two former *Nation* interns. Today, Commons, tomorrow the House of Representatives!

ON THE WEB

■ Veteran *Nation* contributor Russ Baker won a Deadline Club "Web News Exclusive" award for "Why Bush Left Texas," posted 9/14/04. This week: John Nichols remembers LA labor leader Miguel Contreras. Also, take advantage of our new blog comments feature to talk to *Nation* writers and readers. All this and more on our tastefully redesigned website (www.thenation.com).

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The Last Supper by Leonardo da Vinci, c.1495-98. Discussed in Lecture 20.

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Bart D. Ehrman (Ph.D., Princeton Theological Seminary) is the James A. Gray Professor and Chair of the Department of Religious Studies at The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. He has won several teaching awards, including the Students' Undergraduate Teaching Award and the Bowman and Gordon Gray Award for Excellence in Teaching. Professor Ehrman has written or edited 12 books.

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ALEXANDER COCKBURN

Join the 14 Percent Club! We Won!

Sign here to become a member of the 14 Percent Club. Twenty bucks plus shipping and handling gets you the T-shirt. Credentials for membership derive from a recent study from the Pew Research Center disclosing, in the words of Katharine Seelye of the *New York Times* on May 9, that "45 percent of Americans believe little or nothing of what they read in their daily newspapers.... When specific newspapers were mentioned, The Times fared about average, with 21 percent of readers believing all or most of what they read in The Times and 14 percent believing almost nothing."

Chalk up another victory for the left. We've been at it for thirty years at least, saying that most things in the *Times* are distortions of reality or outright lies, and here is a robust slice of the American people agreeing with us.

Of course, the fainthearts who believe that the left can never win anything will say that the credit should go to moles at the *Times*, boring from within, hollowing out the mighty edifice with year upon year of willful falsehoods until at last the whole ponderous structure is crumbling into dust, crushing all within. True to a point. Heroic moles, entombed in the rubble of your own making, Judith Miller and all the others, back through to the suzerain of sappers, A.M. Rosenthal, we salute you all!

As with any empire near collapse, frantic orders are issuing from the command bunker. Seelye divulges the program of proposed "reforms" devised by the editors: "Set up an error-tracking system to detect patterns and trends. Encourage the development of software to detect plagiarism when accusations arise. Increase coverage of middle America, rural areas and religion."

Can there be any better evidence of the panic that has settled in? If this trend continues, they'll be forcing Tom Friedman to install software, based on the works of Noam Chomsky, that freezes his hard drive every time he types an untrue sentence.

The *Times*'s "reform" package veers between apologetic sniveling about improved coverage of the heartland (fatter slabs of patronizing nonsense about god-fearing kulaks in Iowa) and quavering barks of defiance at "the relentless public criticism of the paper.... Mr. Keller [the *Times*'s executive editor] asked the committee to consider whether it was 'any longer possible to stand silent and stoic under fire.'"

"'We need to be more assertive about explaining ourselves—our decisions, our methods, our values, how we operate,' the committee said, acknowledging that 'there are those who love to hate The Times' and suggesting a focus instead on people who do not have 'fixed' opinions about the paper."

This is like reading a strategy memo from the dying embers of the Dukakis campaign. I'm glad to say I have no constructive recommendations to offer to the *Times* editors, except maybe one suggested by my *Nation* intern, Mark Hatch-Miller: "Stop bringing up Jayson Blair every time you screw up. Every time the paper talks about why people don't trust them, they have to mention Blair, but we all would have forgotten him by now if they'd shut up about him. His story is only used to distract us from the real problems at the *Times*."

On the matter of constructive versus destructive criticism, I'll always opt for the latter. Keep it simple, like "US Out of Iraq Now." My only quibble with Chomsky down the years has been the implication in all his trenchant criticisms of the *Times* that somehow the paper should be getting things right, and that it would be better if it did so. This has always seemed to me to be a contradiction in terms. The role devised by the *Times* for itself was to be the credible organ of capitalism ("newspaper of record"), with reports and editorials premised on the belief that US capitalism can produce a just society in which all can enjoy the fruits of their labor in peaceful harmony with their environment and the rest of the planet.

The evidence is in. The case is proved a million different ways. American capitalism can't do that. It's produced an unjust society run by a tiny slice of obscenely rich people (including those controlling the *New York Times*) with a vested and irreversible interest in permanent war and planetary destruction. Given those premises, how can the *Times* ever get it right? Why would we want the *Times* to get it right? It's like a parody I wrote here a decade ago, when the *Times* said that henceforth it would issue corrections "for the sake of balance":

> A *New York Times* Business Day report published two days ago quoted sources confident of America's continued economic expansion, but the report failed to provide adequate balance to these optimistic views. The report markedly failed to represent the views of the Marxist school. According to the Marxist school, the capitalist economy of the United States will suffer increasing crises of accumulation and a falling rate of profit. These phenomena will aggravate social and economic contradictions to a degree that will be ultimately fatal to capitalism. Failure to note the theories of the German economic and social critic Karl Marx violated *Times* standards of fairness.

Get the idea?

We won! On the left we've always said that the corporate press tells lies, and now most people believe us. The corporate media are discredited, the same way the corporate political parties are. Newspapers are dying. The TV network news programs have lost nearly a third of their audience over the past thirty-five years. There's no need for whining that the problem consists of narrowing ownership. The corporate press was just as bad when there were 500 different newspaper owners instead of five. And, for now at least, we have the web. We're infinitely better off than we were thirty years ago.

The only trouble is, the left hasn't got too many ideas. We should stop bitching about the corporate press and get with a new program. If it's credible, then the people who don't trust the *New York Times* might start trusting us.

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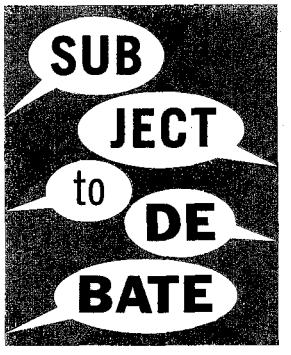
KATHA POLLITT

Virginity or Death!



Imagine a vaccine that would protect women from a serious gynecological cancer. Wouldn't that be great? Well, both Merck and GlaxoSmithKline recently announced that they have conducted successful trials of vaccines that protect against the human papilloma virus. HPV is not only an incredibly widespread sexually transmitted infection but is responsible for at least 70 percent of cases of cervical cancer, which is diagnosed in 10,000 American women a year and kills 4,000. Wonderful, you are probably thinking, all we need to do is vaccinate girls (and boys too for good measure) before they become sexually active, around puberty, and HPV—and, in thirty or forty years, seven in ten cases of cervical cancer—goes poof. Not so fast: We're living in God's country now. The Christian right doesn't like the sound of this vaccine at all. "Giving the HPV vaccine to young women could be potentially harmful," Bridget Maher of the Family Research Council told the British magazine *New Scientist*, "because they may see it as a license to engage in premarital sex." Raise your hand if you think that what is keeping girls virgins now is the threat of getting cervical cancer when they are 60 from a disease they've probably never heard of.

I remember when people rolled their eyeballs if you suggested that opposition to abortion was less about "life" than about sex, especially sex for women. You have to admit that thesis is looking pretty solid these days. No matter what the consequences of sex—pregnancy, disease, death—abstinence for singles is the only answer. Just as it's better for gays to get AIDS than use condoms, it's better for a woman to get cancer than have sex before marriage. It's honor killing on the installment plan.

Christian conservatives have a special reason to be less than thrilled about the HPV vaccine. Although not as famous as chlamydia or herpes, HPV has the distinction of not being preventable by condoms. It's Exhibit A in those gory high school slide shows that try to scare kids away from sex, and it is also useful for undermining the case for rubbers generally—why bother when you could get HPV anyway? In 2000, Congressman (now Senator) Tom Coburn of Oklahoma, who used to give gruesome lectures on HPV for young Congressional aides, even used HPV to propose warning labels on condoms. With HPV potentially eliminated, the antisex brigade will lose a card it has regarded as a trump unless it can persuade parents that vaccinating their daughters will turn them into tramps, and that sex today is worse than cancer tomorrow. According to *New Scientist*, 80 percent of parents want the vaccine for their daughters—but their priests and pastors haven't worked them over yet.

What is it with these right-wing Christians? Faced with a choice between sex and death, they choose death every time. No sex ed or contraception for teens, no sex for the unwed, no condoms for gays, no abortion for anyone—even for that poor 13-year-old pregnant girl in a group home in Florida. I would really like to hear the persuasive argument that this middle-schooler with no home and no family would have been better off giving birth against her will, and that the State of Florida, which totally failed to keep her safe, should have been allowed, against its own laws, to compel this child to bear a child. She was too young to have sex, too young to know her own mind about abortion—but not too young to be forced onto the delivery table for one of the most painful experiences human beings endure, in which the risk of death for her was three times as great as in abortion. Ah, Christian compassion! Christian sadism, more likely. It was the courts that showed humanity when they let the girl terminate her pregnancy.

As they flex their political muscle, right-wing Christians increasingly reveal their condescending view of women as moral children who need to be kept in line sexually by fear. That's why antichoicers will never answer the call of prochoicers to join them in reducing abortions by making birth control more widely available: They want it to be *less* available. Their real interest goes way beyond protecting fetuses—it's in keeping sex tied to reproduction to keep women in their place. If preventing abortion was what they cared about, they'd be giving birth control and emergency contraception away on street corners instead of supporting pharmacists who refuse to fill prescriptions and hospitals that don't tell rape victims about the existence of EC. David Hager (see Ayelish McGarvey's stunning exposé on page 11, and keep in mind that unlike godless me she is a churchgoing evangelical Christian) would never use his position with the FDA to impose his personal views of sexual morality on women in crisis. Instead of blocking nonprescription status for emergency contraception on the specious grounds that it will encourage teen promiscuity, he would take note of the six studies, three including teens, that show no relation between sexual activity and access to EC. He would be calling the loudest for Plan B to be stocked with the toothpaste in every drugstore in the land. How sexist is denial of Plan B? Antichoicers may pooh-pooh the effectiveness of condoms, but they aren't calling to restrict their sale in order to keep boys chaste.

While the FDA dithers, the case against selling EC over the counter weakens by the day. Besides the now exploded argument that it will let teens run wild, opponents argue that it prevents implantation of a fertilized egg—which would make it an "abortifacient" if you believe that pregnancy begins when sperm and egg unite. However, new research by the Population Council shows that EC doesn't work by blocking implantation; it only prevents ovulation. True, it's not possible to say it *never* blocks implantation, James Trussell, director of the Office of Population Research at Princeton, told me, and to antichoice hard-liners once in a thousand times is enough. But then, many things can block implantation, including breast-feeding. Are the reverends going to come out for formula-feeding now?

"It all comes down to the evils of sex," says Trussell. "That's an ideological position impervious to empirical evidence." ■

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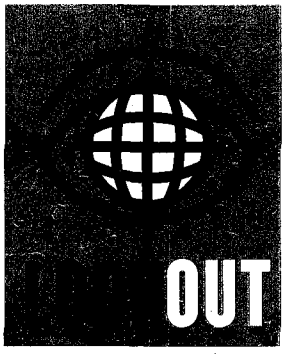
NAOMI KLEIN

Torture's Dirty Secret: It Works

I recently caught a glimpse of the effects of torture in action at an event honoring Maher Arar. The Syrian-born Canadian is the world's most famous victim of "rendition," the process by which US officials outsource torture to foreign countries. Arar was switching planes in New York when US interrogators detained him and "rendered" him to Syria, where he was held for ten months in a cell slightly larger than a grave and taken out periodically for beatings.



Arar was being honored for his courage by the Canadian Council on American-Islamic Relations, a mainstream advocacy organization. The audience gave him a heartfelt standing ovation, but there was fear mixed in with the celebration. Many of the prominent community leaders kept their distance from Arar, responding to him only tentatively. Some speakers were unable even to mention the honored guest by name, as if he had something they could catch. And perhaps they were right: The tenuous "evidence"—later discredited—that landed Arar in a rat-infested cell was guilt by association. And if that could happen to Arar, a successful software engineer and family man, who is safe?

In a rare public speech, Arar addressed this fear directly. He told the audience that an independent commissioner has been trying to gather evidence of law-enforcement officials breaking the rules when investigating Muslim Canadians. The commissioner has heard dozens of stories of threats, harassment and inappropriate home visits. But, Arar said, "not a single person made a public complaint. Fear prevented them from doing so." Fear of being the next Maher Arar.

The fear is even thicker among Muslims in the United States, where the Patriot Act gives police the power to seize the records of any mosque, school, library or community group on mere suspicion of terrorist links. When this intense surveillance is paired with the ever-present threat of torture, the message is clear: You are being watched, your neighbor may be a spy, the government can find out anything about you. If you misstep, you could disappear onto a plane bound for Syria, or into "the deep dark hole that is Guantánamo Bay," to borrow a phrase from Michael Ratner, president of the Center for Constitutional Rights.

But this fear has to be finely calibrated. The people being intimidated need to know enough to be afraid but not so much that they demand justice. This helps explain why the Defense Department will release certain kinds of seemingly incriminating information about Guantánamo—pictures of men in cages, for instance—at the same time that it acts to suppress photographs on a par with what escaped from Abu Ghraib. And it might also explain why the Pentagon approved the new book by a former military translator, including the passages about prisoners being sexually humiliated, but prevented him from writing about the widespread use of attack dogs. This strategic leaking of information, combined with official denials, induces a state of mind that Argentines describe as "knowing/not knowing," a vestige of their "dirty war."

"Obviously, intelligence agents have an incentive to hide the use of unlawful methods," says the ACLU's Jameel Jaffer. "On the other hand, when they use rendition and torture as a threat, it's undeniable that they benefit, in some sense, from the fact that people know that intelligence agents are willing to act unlawfully. They benefit from the fact that people understand the threat and believe it to be credible."

And the threats have been received. In an affidavit filed with an ACLU court challenge to Section 215 of the Patriot Act, Nazih Hassan, president of the Muslim Community Association of Ann Arbor, Michigan, describes this new climate. Membership and attendance are down, donations are way down, board members have resigned—Hassan says his members fear doing anything that could get their names on lists. One member testified anonymously that he has "stopped speaking out on political and social issues" because he doesn't want to draw attention to himself.

This is torture's true purpose: to terrorize—not only the people in Guantánamo's cages and Syria's isolation cells but also, and more important, the broader community that hears about these abuses. Torture is a machine designed to break the will to resist—the individual prisoner's will and the collective will.

This is not a controversial claim. In 2001 the US NGO Physicians for Human Rights published a manual on treating torture survivors that noted: "perpetrators often attempt to justify their acts of torture and ill treatment by the need to gather information. Such conceptualizations obscure the purpose of torture.... The aim of torture is to dehumanize the victim, break his/her will, and at the same time, set horrific examples for those who come in contact with the victim. In this way, torture can break or damage the will and coherence of entire communities."

Yet despite this body of knowledge, torture continues to be debated in the United States as if it were merely a morally questionable way to extract information, not an instrument of state terror. But there's a problem: No one claims that torture is an effective interrogation tool—least of all the people who practice it. Torture "doesn't work. There are better ways to deal with captives," CIA director Porter Goss told the Senate Intelligence Committee on February 16. And a recently declassified memo written by an FBI official in Guantánamo states that extreme coercion produced "nothing more than what FBI got using simple investigative techniques." The Army's own interrogation field manual states that force "can induce the source to say whatever he thinks the interrogator wants to hear."

And yet the abuses keep on coming—Uzbekistan as the new hot spot for renditions; the "El Salvador model" imported to Iraq. And the only sensible explanation for torture's persistent popularity comes from a most unlikely source. Lynndie England, the fall girl for Abu Ghraib, was asked during her botched trial why she and her colleagues had forced naked prisoners into a human pyramid. "As a way to control them," she replied.

Exactly. As an interrogation tool, torture is a bust. But when it comes to social control, nothing works quite like torture. ■

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ARTICLES

DR. HAGER'S FAMILY VALUES

Should this man be advising Bush on women's health?

ANJELICA HAGAR/AP

Late last October Dr. W. David Hager, a prominent obstetrician-gynecologist and Bush Administration appointee to the Advisory Committee for Reproductive Health Drugs in the Food and Drug Administration (FDA), took to the pulpit as the featured speaker at a morning service. He stood in the campus chapel at Asbury College, a small evangelical Christian school nestled among picturesque horse farms in the small town of Wilmore in Kentucky's bluegrass region. Hager is an Asburian nabob; his elderly father is a past president of the college, and Hager himself currently sits on his alma mater's board of trustees. Even the school's administrative building, Hager Hall, bears the family name.

That day, a mostly friendly audience of 1,500 students and faculty packed into the seats in front of him. With the autumn sunlight streaming through the stained-glass windows, Hager opened his Bible to the Old Testament Book of Ezekiel and looked out into the audience. "I want to share with you some information about how...God has called me to stand in the gap," he declared. "Not only for others, but regarding ethical and moral issues in our country."

For Hager, those moral and ethical issues all appear to revolve around sex: In both his medical practice and his advisory role at the FDA, his ardent evangelical piety anchors his staunch opposition to emergency contraception, abortion and premarital sex. Through his six books—which include such titles as *Stress and the Woman's Body* and *As Jesus Cared for Women*, self-help tomes that interweave syrupy Christian spirituality with paternalistic advice on women's health and relationships—he has established himself as a leading conservative Christian voice on women's health and sexuality.

And because of his warm relationship with the Bush Administration, Hager has had the opportunity to see his ideas influence federal policy. In December 2003 the FDA advisory committee of which he is a member was asked to consider whether emergency contraception, known as Plan B, should be made available over the counter. Over Hager's dissent, the committee voted overwhelmingly to approve the change. But the FDA rejected its recommendation, a highly unusual and controversial decision in which Hager, *The Nation* has learned, played a key role. Hager's reappointment to the committee, which does not require Congressional approval, is expected this June, but Bush's nomination of Dr. Lester Crawford as FDA director has been bogged down in controversy over the issue of emergency contraception. Crawford was acting director throughout the Plan B debacle, and Senate Democrats, led by Hillary Clinton and Patty Murray, are holding up his nomination until the agency revisits its decision about going over the counter with the pill.

When Hager's nomination to the FDA was announced in the fall of 2002, his conservative Christian beliefs drew sharp criticism from Democrats and prochoice groups. David Limbaugh, the lesser light in the Limbaugh family and author of *Persecution: How Liberals Are Waging Political War Against Christianity*, said the left had subjected Hager to an "anti-Christian litmus test." Hager's valor in the face of this "religious profiling" earned him the praise and lasting support of evangelical Christians, including such luminaries as Charles Colson, Dr. James Dobson and Franklin Graham, son of the Rev. Billy Graham.

Back at Asbury, Hager cast himself as a victim of religious persecution in his sermon. "You see...there is a war going on in this country," he said gravely. "And I'm not speaking about the war in Iraq. It's a war being waged against Christians, particularly evangelical Christians. It wasn't my scientific record that came under scrutiny [at the FDA]. It was my faith.... By making myself available, God has used me to stand in the breach.... Just as he has used me, he can use you."

Up on the dais, several men seated behind Hager nodded

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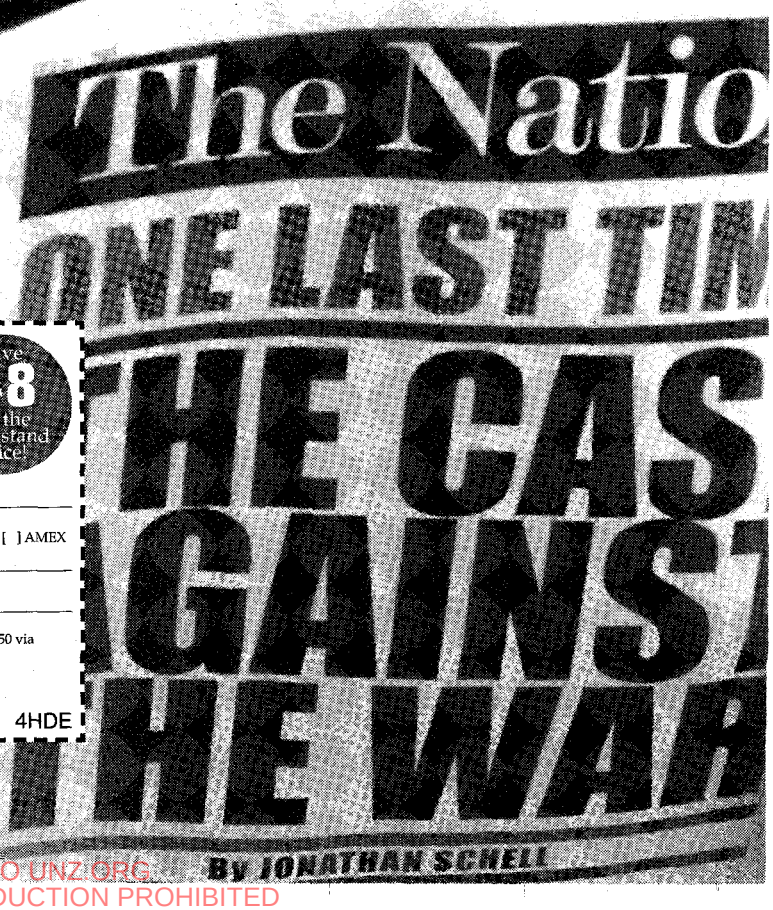

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solemnly in agreement. But out in the audience, Linda Carruth Davis—co-author with Hager of *Stress and the Woman's Body*, and, more saliently, his former wife of thirty-two years—was enraged. "It was the most disgusting thing I've ever heard," she recalled months later, through clenched teeth.

According to Davis, Hager's public moralizing on sexual matters clashed with his deplorable treatment of her during their marriage. Davis alleges that between 1995 and their divorce in 2002, Hager repeatedly sodomized her without her consent. Several sources on and off the record confirmed that she had told them it was the sexual and emotional abuse within their marriage that eventually forced her out. "I probably wouldn't have objected so much, or felt it was so abusive if he had just wanted normal [vaginal] sex all the time," she explained to me. "But it was the painful, invasive, totally nonconsensual nature of the [anal] sex that was so horrible."

According to his former wife, Hager's public moralizing clashed with his deplorable treatment of her during their marriage.

Not once during the uproar over Hager's FDA appointment did any reporter solicit the opinion of the woman now known as Linda Davis—she remarried in November 2002 to James Davis, a Methodist minister, and relocated to southern Georgia—on her husband's record, even though she contributed to much of his self-help work in the Christian arena (she remains a religious and political conservative). She intermittently thought of telling her story but refrained, she says, out of respect for her adult children. It was Hager's sermon at Asbury last October that finally changed her mind. Davis was there to hear her middle son give a vocal performance; she was prepared to hear her ex-husband inveigh against secular liberals, but she was shocked to hear him speak about their divorce when he took to the pulpit.

"In early 2002," Hager told the churchgoers that day, "my world fell apart.... After thirty-two years of marriage, I was suddenly alone in a new home that we had built as our dream home. Time spent 'doing God's will' had kept me from spending the time I needed to nourish my marriage." Hager noted with pride that in his darkest hour, Focus on the Family estimated that 50 million people worldwide were praying for him.

Linda Davis quietly fumed in her chair. "He had the gall to stand under the banner of holiness of the Lord and lie, by the sin of omission," she told me. "It's what he *didn't* say—it's the impression he left."

David Hager is not the fringe character and fundamentalist faith healer that some of his critics have made him out to be. In fact, he is a well-credentialed doctor. In Kentucky Hager has long been recognized as a leading Ob-Gyn at Lexington's Central Baptist Hospital and a faculty member at the University of Kentucky's medical school. And in the 1990s several magazines, including *Modern Healthcare* and *Good Housekeeping*, counted him among the best doctors for women in the nation.

Yet while Hager doesn't advocate the substitution of conservative Christianity for medicine, his religious ideology underlies an all-encompassing paternalism in his approach to his women patients. "Even though I was trained as a medical specialist," Hager explained in the preface to *As Jesus Cared for Women*, "it wasn't until I began to see how Jesus treated women that I understood how I, as a doctor, should treat them." To underscore this revelation, Hager recounted case after case in which he acted as confidant, spiritual adviser and even father figure to his grateful patients. As laid out in his writings, Hager's worldview is not informed by a sense of inherent equality between men and women. Instead, men are expected to act as benevolent authority figures for the women in their lives. (In one of his books, he refers to a man who raped his wife as "selfish" and "sinful.") But to model gender relations on the one Jesus had with his followers is to leave women dangerously exposed in the event that the men in their lives don't meet the high standard set by God Himself—trapped in a permanent state of dependence hoping to be treated well.

In tandem with his medical career, Hager has been an aggressive advocate for the political agenda of the Christian right. A member of Focus on the Family's Physician Resource Council and the Christian Medical and Dental Society, Hager assisted the Concerned Women for America in submitting a "Citizen's Petition" to the FDA in August 2002 to halt distribution and marketing of the abortion pill, RU-486. It was this record of conservative activism that ignited a firestorm when the Bush Administration first floated his name for chairman of the FDA's advisory committee in the fall of 2002. In the end, the FDA found a way to dodge the controversy: It issued a stealth announcement of Hager's appointment to the panel (to be one of eleven members, not chairman) on Christmas Eve. Liberals were furious that they weren't able to block his appointment. For many months afterward, an outraged chain letter alerting women to the appointment of a man with religious views "far outside the mainstream" snaked its way around the Internet, lending the whole episode the air of urban legend.

Back in Lexington, where the couple continued to live, Linda Hager, as she was still known at the time, was sinking into a deep depression, she says. Though her marriage had been dead for nearly a decade, she could not see her way clear to divorce; she had no money of her own and few marketable skills. But life with David Hager had grown unbearable. As his public profile increased, so did the tension in their home, which she says periodically triggered episodes of abuse. "I would be asleep," she recalls, "and since [the sodomy] was painful and threatening, I woke up. Sometimes I acquiesced once he had started, just to make it go faster, and sometimes I tried to push him off.... I would [confront] David later, and he would say, 'You asked me to do that,' and I would say, 'No, I never asked for it.'"

I first heard of Davis's experience in 2004 through a friend of hers. After a few telephone conversations, she agreed to have me fly down to see her in her modest parsonage in Georgia, to tell me her story on the record. With her mod reading glasses, stylish bob and clever outfits, Davis, 55, is a handsome woman with a sharp wit. She spoke with me over two days in January.

Linda Davis (née Carruth) first met David Hager on the cam-

Ayelish McGarvey is a writing fellow at The American Prospect.

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pus of Asbury College in 1967. "On the very first date he sat me down and told me he was going to marry me," Davis remembers. "I was so overwhelmed by this aggressive approach of 'I see you and I want you' that I was completely seduced by it."

Davis, a former beauty queen, was a disengaged student eager to get married and start a family. A Hager-Carruth marriage promised prestige and wealth for the couple; her father was a famous Methodist evangelist, and his father was then president of Asbury. "On the surface, it just looked so good," she remembers. The couple married in 1970, while Hager completed medical school at the University of Kentucky.

"I don't think I was married even a full year before I realized that I had made a horrible mistake," Davis says. By her account, Hager was demanding and controlling, and the couple shared little emotional intimacy. "But," she says, "the people around me said, 'Well, you've made your bed, and now you have to lie in it.'" So Davis commenced with family making and bore three sons: Philip, in 1973; Neal, in 1977; and Jonathan, in 1979.

As Hager began fielding calls from the White House personnel office in 2001, the stress in the household hit an all-time high.

Sometime between the births of Neal and Jonathan, Hager embarked on an affair with a Bible-study classmate who was a friend of Davis's. A close friend of Davis's remembers her calling long distance when she found out: "She was angry and distraught, like any woman with two children would be. But she was committed to working it out."

Sex was always a source of conflict in the marriage. Though it wasn't emotionally satisfying for her, Davis says she soon learned that sex could "buy" peace with Hager after a long day of arguing, or insure his forgiveness after she spent too much money. "Sex was coinage; it was a commodity," she said. Sometimes Hager would blithely shift from vaginal to anal sex. Davis protested. "He would say, 'Oh, I didn't mean to have anal sex with you; I can't feel the difference,'" Davis recalls incredulously. "And I would say, 'Well then, you're in the wrong business.'"

By the 1980s, according to Davis, Hager was pressuring her to let him videotape and photograph them having sex. She consented, and eventually she even let Hager pay her for sex that she wouldn't have otherwise engaged in—for example, $2,000 for oral sex, "though that didn't happen very often because I hated doing it so much. So though it was more painful, I would let him sodomize me, and he would leave a check on the dresser," Davis admitted to me with some embarrassment. This exchange took place almost weekly for several years.

Money was an explosive issue in their household. Hager kept an iron grip on the family purse strings. Initially the couple's single checking account was in Hager's name only, which meant that Davis had to appeal to her husband for cash, she says. Eventually he relented and opened a dual account. Davis recalls that Hager would return home every evening and make a beeline for his office to balance the checkbook, often angrily summoning her to account for the money she'd spent that day. Brenda Bartella Peterson, Davis's friend of twenty-five years and her neighbor at the time, witnessed Hager berate his wife in their kitchen after one such episode. For her part, Davis set out to subvert Hager's financial dominance with profligate spending on credit cards opened in her own name. "I was not willing to face reality about money," she admits. "I thought, 'Well, money can't buy happiness, but it buys the kind of misery you can learn to live with.'"

These financial atmospherics undoubtedly figured into Linda's willingness to accept payment for sex. But eventually her conscience caught up with her. "Finally...I said, 'You know, David, this is like being a prostitute. I just can't do this anymore; I don't think it's healthy for our relationship,'" she recalls.

By 1995, according to Davis's account, Hager's treatment of his wife had moved beyond morally reprehensible to potentially felonious. It was a uniquely stressful year for Davis. Her mother, dying of cancer, had moved in with the family and was in need of constant care. At the same time, Davis was suffering from a seemingly inexplicable exhaustion during the day. She began exhibiting a series of strange behaviors, like falling asleep in such curious places as the mall and her closet. Occasionally she would—as she describes it—"zone out" in midsentence in a conversation, and her legs would buckle. Eventually, Davis was diagnosed as having narcolepsy, a neurological disorder that affects the brain's ability to regulate normal sleep-wake cycles.

For Davis, the diagnosis spelled relief, and a physician placed her on several medications to attain "sleep hygiene," or a consistent sleep pattern. But Davis says it was after the diagnosis that the period of the most severe abuse began. For the next seven years Hager sodomized Davis without her consent while she slept roughly once a month until their divorce in 2002, she claims. "My sense is that he saw [my narcolepsy] as an opportunity," Davis surmises. Sometimes she fought Hager off and he would quit for a while, only to circle back later that same night; at other times, "the most expedient thing was to try and somehow get it [over with]. In order to keep any peace, I had to maintain the illusion of being available to him." At still other moments, she says, she attempted to avoid Hager's predatory advances in various ways—for example, by sleeping in other rooms in the house, or by struggling to stay awake until Hager was in a deep sleep himself. But, she says, nothing worked. One of Davis's lifelong confidantes remembers when Davis first told her about the abuse. "[Linda] was very angry and shaken," she recalled.

As Hager began fielding calls from the White House personnel office in 2001, the stress in the household—and, with it, the abuse—hit an all-time high, according to Davis. She says she confronted her husband on numerous occasions: "[I said to him,] 'Every time you do this, I hate your guts. And it blows a bridge out between us that takes weeks, if not months, to heal.'" She says that Hager would, in rare instances, admit what he had done and apologize, but typically would deny it altogether.

For a while, fears of poverty, isolation and damnation were enough to keep Davis from seeking a divorce. She says that she had never cheated on Hager, but after reuniting with a high school sweetheart (not her current husband) in the chaotic aftermath of September 11, she had a brief affair. En route to their first, and only, rendezvous, she prayed aloud. "I said to the

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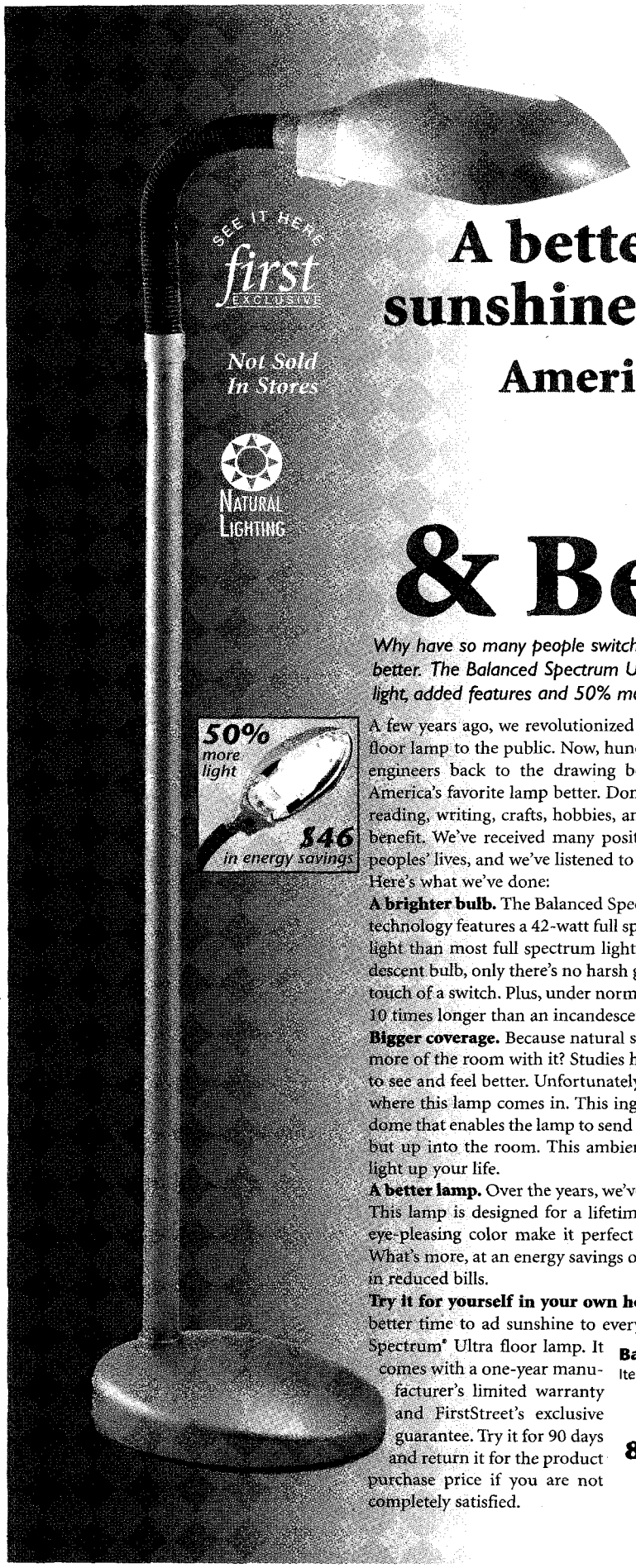

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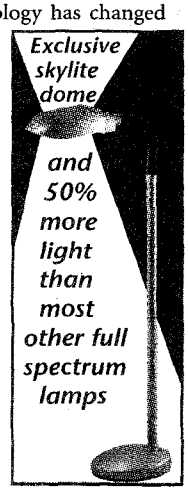

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Lord, 'All right. I do not want to die without having sex with someone I love,'" she remembers. "'I want to know what that's like, Lord. I know that it's a sin, and I know this is adultery. But I have to know what it's like.'"

Davis was sure that God would strike her dead on her way home that weekend. But when nothing happened, she took it as a good sign. Back in Lexington, she walked through her front door and made a decision right there on the spot. "I said, 'David, I want a divorce.'"

Marital rape is a foreign concept to many women with stories like this one. Indeed, Linda Davis had never heard the term until midway through her divorce. In Kentucky a person is guilty of rape in the first degree when he engages in sexual intercourse with another person by "forcible compulsion"; or when the victim is incapable of consent because she is physically helpless. The same standards apply to the crime of sodomy in the first degree (equivalent to rape, and distinct from consensual sodomy). Both are felonies.

A domestic violence prosecutor in Kentucky confirmed that a scenario such as this one could qualify as a first-degree offense.

In sexual assault cases, the outcome hinges on the issue of consent. A high-level domestic violence prosecutor in Kentucky confirmed that a scenario such as this one, in which Davis was in a deep sleep from the narcolepsy, could meet the "physically helpless" standard required for a first-degree offense. A prosecutor could also argue that Hager engaged in sodomy with Davis by means of forcible compulsion, even though the alleged encounters did not involve violence. According to the Kentucky Supreme Court's decision in 1992 in *Yarnell v. Commonwealth*, a climate of abuse involving "constant emotional, verbal, and physical duress" is tantamount to forcible compulsion. In that case, the victims submitted to the sex acts to avoid a loss of financial security, as well as to maintain peace in the household.

Historically, the legal system has long been indifferent to the crime of marital sexual assault; as recently as twelve years ago in some states, it was legal for a man to force his wife physically into sex, or commence having sex without her consent—actions that could land a stranger in jail. Until 2000 the Kentucky Penal Code still contained archaic procedural obstacles for prosecuting marital rape, including a requirement that it be reported within one year of the offense. (No other felony—including "stranger rape"—contains a statute of limitations.) Even today, marital sexual assault is a notoriously difficult crime to prosecute. Women like Davis often have strong financial incentives to stay with their spouses; those who speak out frequently face an uphill battle to convince people that their husbands, who may be well liked and respected, are capable of something this ugly at home. Also, because marriages play out over many years, some sex is consensual, while other sex is not—a fact that may complicate matters for a jury in a criminal proceeding.

Linda Davis chose not to bring allegations of marital rape into her divorce proceedings; her foremost desires at the time were a fair settlement and minimal disruption for her sons. Nonetheless, she informed her lawyer of the abuse. Natalie Wilson, a divorce attorney in Lexington, asked Linda to draw up a working chronology of her marriage to Hager. "[It] included references to what I would call the sexual abuse," Wilson explained. "I had no reason not to believe her.... It was an explanation for some of the things that went on in the marriage, and it explained her reluctance to share that information with her sons—which had resulted in her sons' being very angry about the fact that she was insisting on the divorce."

As it turned out, when the dust settled after their divorce, nearly everyone in the Hagers' Christian and medical circles in Lexington had sided with Hager, who told people that his wife was mentally unstable and had moved in with another man (she moved in with friends).

Davis had only told a handful of people about the abuse throughout her marriage, but several of her longtime confidantes confirmed for this article that she had told them of the abuse at the time it was occurring. Wilson, the attorney, spoke to me on the record, as did Brenda Bartella Peterson, Davis's close friend of twenty-five years. Several others close to Davis spoke to me off the record. Two refused to speak to me and denounced Davis for going public, but they did not contest her claims. Many attempts to interview nearly a dozen of Hager's friends and supporters in Lexington and around the country were unsuccessful.

As for David Hager, after repeated attempts to interview him for this story, we finally spoke for nearly half an hour in early April. That conversation was off the record. "My official comment is that I decline to comment," he said.

As disturbing as they are on their own, Linda Davis's allegations take on even more gravity in light of Hager's public role as a custodian of women's health. Some may argue that this is just a personal matter between a man and his former wife—a simple case of "he said, she said" with no public implications. That might be so—*if* there were no allegations of criminal conduct, *if* the alleged conduct did not bear any relevance to the public responsibilities of the person in question, and *if* the allegations themselves were not credible and independently corroborated. But given that this case fails all of those tests, the public has a right to call on Dr. David Hager to answer Linda Davis's charges before he is entrusted with another term. After all, few women would knowingly choose a sexual abuser as their gynecologist, and fewer still would likely be comfortable with the idea of letting one serve as a federal adviser on women's health issues.

(Lest inappropriate analogies be drawn between the Hager accusations and the politics of personal destruction that nearly brought down the presidency of Bill Clinton, it ought to be remembered that President Clinton's sexual relationship with Monica Lewinsky was never alleged to be criminal and did not affect his ability to fulfill his obligations to the nation. This, of course, did not stop the religious right from calling for his head. "The topic of private vs. public behavior has emerged as perhaps the central moral issue raised by Bill Clinton's 'improper relationship,'" wrote evangelist and Hager ally Franklin Graham at the time. "But the God of the Bible says that what one does in private does matter. There needs to be no clash between personal conduct and public appearance.")

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Hager's FDA assignment is an object lesson in the potential influence of a single appointment to a federal advisory committee that in turn affects thousands, even millions, of lives. Witness the behind-the-scenes machinations that set the stage for the FDA's ruling against Plan B, a decision that the American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists called a "dark stain on the reputation of an evidence-based agency like the FDA."

On December 16, 2003, twenty-seven of the FDA's advisers on women's health and nonprescription drugs gathered in Gaithersburg, Maryland, to evaluate the safety and efficacy of emergency contraception for over-the-counter use. (The Plan B pill, which drastically reduces the risk of pregnancy when used within seventy-two hours after intercourse, has long been available by prescription only; its advocates say its greater availability could significantly reduce the nation's abortion rate.) After a long day of highly technical deliberation, the advisers voted 23 to 4 to drop the prescription-only status of emergency contraception. "I've been on this committee...for almost four years, and I would take this to be the safest product that we have seen brought before us," announced Dr. Julie Johnson, a professor at the University of Florida's Colleges of Pharmacy and Medicine.

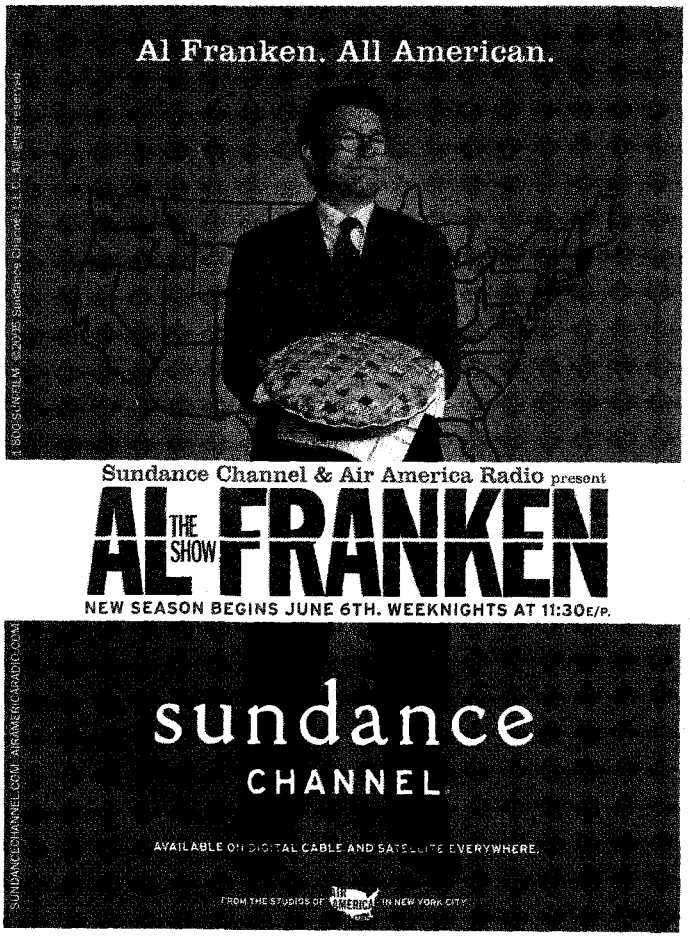
But on May 6, 2004, the FDA rejected the advice of its own experts and refused to approve the sale of Plan B over the counter. In his letter to Barr Laboratories, Steven Galson, acting director of the FDA's Center for Drug Evaluation and Research, claimed that Barr had not provided adequate data showing just how young adolescent women would actually use the drug.

That issue was never voted on by the committee. It was, however, broached by Hager at the meeting; he mentioned his concern for these "younger adolescents" several times.

In his private practice back in Kentucky, Hager doesn't prescribe emergency contraception, because he believes it is an abortifacient, and, not surprisingly, his was one of the four votes against widening its availability. But rather than voice his ethical opposition to the product, Hager emphasized his concern about adolescents, which other committee members have since called a "political fig leaf." According to Dr. James Trussell, who voted in favor of Plan B, the FDA had at hand six studies examining whether teens as young as 15 would increase their "risky" behavior if they knew they had a backup emergency contraceptive—and none of the studies showed any evidence for that contention.

In his sermon at Asbury College last fall, Hager proudly recounted his role in the Plan B decision. "After two days of hearings," he said, "the committees voted to approve this over-the-counter sale by 23 to 4. *I was asked to write a minority opinion that was sent to the commissioner of the FDA....* Now the opinion I wrote was not from an evangelical Christian perspective.... But I argued it from a scientific perspective, and God took that information, and He used it through this minority report to influence the decision." [Emphasis added.]

None of the four panel members I spoke with for this article were aware of Hager's "minority opinion." An FDA spokeswoman told me that "the FDA did not ask for a minority opinion from this advisory committee," though she was unable to say whether any individual within the agency had requested such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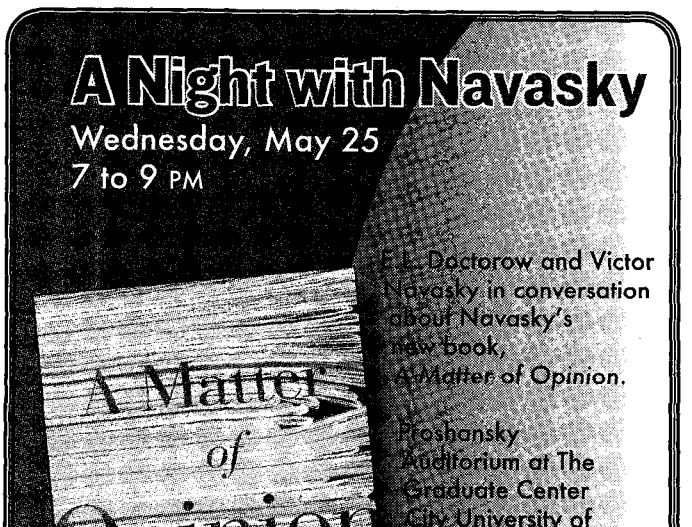
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a document from Hager. This past January the FDA missed a deadline to respond to a new application from Barr Laboratories, and any forward motion on making Plan B more widely available has completely stalled.

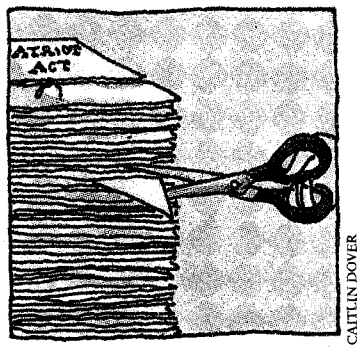
Meanwhile, David Hager's stock has been rising among conservatives. Though his term on the FDA panel is set to expire on June 30, observers on both sides of the political divide anticipate his reappointment. In March I spoke with Janice Shaw Crouse, executive director and senior fellow at the Beverly LaHaye Institute, the research arm of Concerned Women for America. She is one of Hager's staunchest advocates in Washington (some credit her with engineering his FDA appointment); Crouse sits alongside Hager on Asbury College's board of trustees. In May, when informed of the allegations against him, she declined to revise her earlier statement. "I would not be at all surprised to see Dr. Hager elevated to a higher position or to another very influential position when it comes to women's care," she told me. "Because he has shown that he does care about women regardless of...the [religious] issues that people want to try to raise.... When people try to discredit him, he continues on. He hasn't caved in, and he hasn't waffled. He has been a gentleman. He is a person of character and integrity, and I think people admire that." ■

WHAT WE DON'T TALK ABOUT WHEN WE TALK ABOUT THE PATRIOT ACT.

The Missing Patriot Debate

DAVID COLE

The Patriot Act debate is on—sort of. Congress has until the end of the year to decide whether to reauthorize sixteen "sunsetted" provisions of the act that would otherwise expire on December 31. It is holding hearings, and even inviting civil liberties advocates to some of them. Six states and more than 370 cities and towns have adopted resolutions condemning the act's civil liberties abuses. Courts have declared some of its provisions unconstitutional. An impressive coalition of conservative and liberal groups, featuring the likes of former Republican Congressman Bob Barr and the ACLU's Anthony Romero, has vowed to restore checks and balances to a law passed in haste and fear just six weeks after 9/11. And one of the most powerful lobbies in the country is on the case—librarians.



CAITLIN DOVER

But if Patriot Act opponents are expecting great things, they will be disappointed. Many of the worst provisions of the act are not even up for discussion. The disputes regarding the few provisions that are actually in play often concern only marginal details, while skirting more fundamental issues. And the whole debate is largely a diversion, because the worst civil liberties abuses since 9/11 have been achieved without reliance on the Patriot Act, as they are based on executive initiatives that Congress has no will to challenge.

To begin to understand just how limited the Patriot Act debate is, consider that the sixteen provisions at issue probably take up no more than twenty-five of the original act's 342 pages. Most of those sixteen provisions are now considered "noncontroversial," and are virtually certain to be reauthorized. The real battles are likely to focus on just two sections. One, popularly known as the "libraries provision," allows the government secretly to obtain records of any person from any business, regardless of wrongdoing; and the other authorizes secret "sneak and peek" searches of homes without promptly informing the homeowner. These two measures undoubtedly raise real concerns, but they hardly warrant the kind of mass rallying that both sides have mustered since the Patriot Act was passed.

Among the most troubling provisions *not* sunsetted are those on immigration. They authorize the government to deny entry to foreigners because of speech rather than actions, to deport even permanent residents who innocently supported disfavored political groups and to lock up foreign nationals without charges.

Patriot Act proponents often insist that there have been no abuses of the act, but the law's immigration provisions have clearly been abused. In one case, the government ordered an Indian man deported for having set up a tent for religious prayer and food, simply because unnamed members of a "terrorist organization" were allegedly among those who came to services at the tent. In a case I am handling for the Center for Constitutional Rights, the government is seeking to deport two longtime permanent residents for having distributed PLO magazines in Los Angeles in the 1980s, and for having organized two Palestinian community dinners at which they raised money for humanitarian causes [see Cole, "9/11 and the LA 8," October 27, 2003]. The government considers it irrelevant that distributing magazines and raising humanitarian aid was entirely lawful, even constitutionally protected, at the time.

The government has also used the Patriot Act's immigration provisions to revoke the visa of Tariq Ramadan, a Swiss professor and a leading thinker on Islam's relation to modernity. Ramadan, one of the first prominent Muslim scholars to condemn the 9/11 attacks, had been offered a prestigious chair at Notre Dame. Yet the government revoked his visa on the basis of something he said, without ever informing him of what it was. More recently, the government denied a visa to Dora

David Cole, cole@law.georgetown.edu, The Nation*'s legal affairs correspondent, is the author of* Enemy Aliens: Double Standards and Constitutional Freedoms in the War on Terrorism, *forthcoming in a revised paperback edition in July.*

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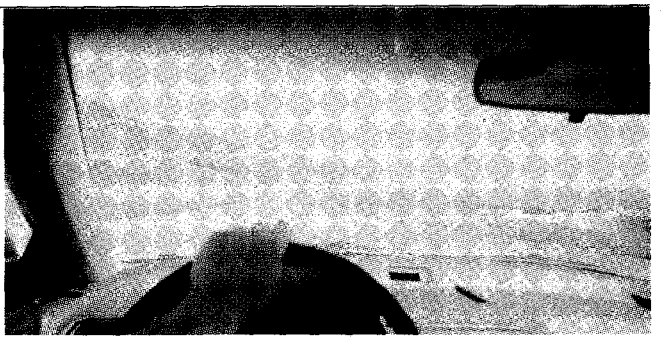

Driving can expose you to more dangerous glare than any sunny summer day at the beach can...do you know how to protect yourself? An amazing breakthrough in optic technology by NASA called Eagle Eyes® can be your answer. The sun rises and sets at peak travel periods, during the early morning and afternoon rush hours. Many drivers find themselves temporarily blinded as they are driving directly into the glare of the sun. Deadly accidents are regularly caused by such blinding glare. Danger can come from reflected light off of another vehicle, from the pavement, or any other reflective surface. Early morning frost or dew can exacerbate this situation. Salted or snowy road conditions can make matters even worse. Yet, motorists struggle on despite being blinded by the sun's glare and cause countless accidents every year.

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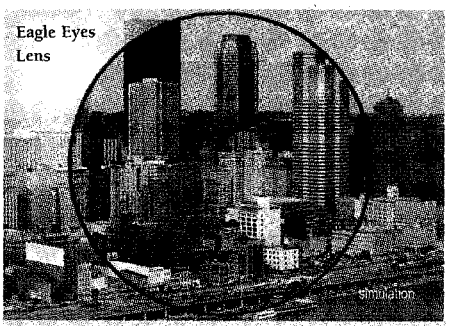
This glare-induced "blindness" is especially prevalent in the early morning or late in the afternoon, and due to the extremely reflective qualities of other cars. Even your windshield can make matters worse because of small scratches that can increase reflected glare. This powerful glare of the sun can be damaging to the various layers of the eye. Certain road conditions can raise the amount of UV that you are exposed to by up to 85%.



Slip on a pair of Eagle Eyes and everything instantly appears more vivid and sharp. You'll immediately notice that your eyes are more comfortable and relaxed and you'll feel no need to squint. The scientifically designed sunglasses are not just fashion accessories—they are necessary to protect your eyes from those harmful rays produced by the sun in many peak driving times.

> *As a board certified ophthalmologist, I recommend Eagle Eyes to all my patients to protect and enhance their vision!*
>
>
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> —*Dr. Lyda D. Tymiak*

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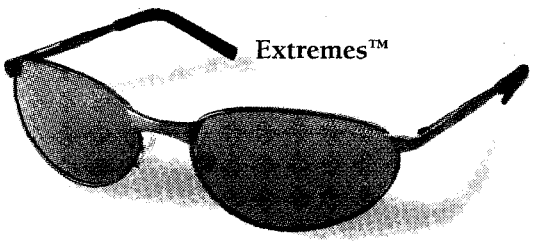

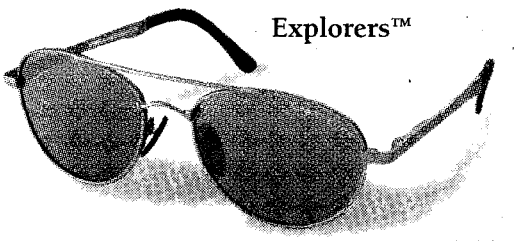

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Maria Tellez, a Nicaraguan invited to teach at Harvard, solely because of her association with the Sandinistas in the 1980s.

Not only are these aspects of the Patriot Act not subject to debate, but Congress has just passed still more onerous immigration provisions as part of the Iraq War appropriations bill. This legislation makes the Patriot Act look humane. It makes deportable any foreign national who ever joined or made a donation to any organization of two or more people that ever used or threatened to use a weapon. It is no defense to prove that one's support or membership was not intended to further terrorism or violence. This law would retroactively make deportable every foreign national who ever donated to the African National Congress, the Israeli military, Afghanistan's Northern Alliance, the Nicaraguan *contras* or the Irish Republican Army. It would fully resurrect the "guilt by association" approach of the 1952 McCarran-Walter Act. So, far from checking abuse of the immigration power, Congress has done its best to encourage it still further.

Many Patriot Act provisions, including authorization of the use of secret evidence and detention without charge, won't be debated.

Also not up for reconsideration is a Patriot Act section that authorizes the Treasury Secretary to freeze the assets of any entity in the United States without evidence of wrongdoing, simply by claiming that it is "under investigation" for potential violations of a law barring material support to groups or individuals designated as "terrorist," a term not defined in the law, meaning it is whatever the Treasury Department says it is. The same provision also says that if an entity challenges a freeze order in court, the government can defend it by presenting secret evidence to the judge behind closed doors. The Treasury Department has used this power to freeze the assets of a half-dozen Muslim charities. It's possible that all were actually fronts for terrorism; but it's equally possible that all were legitimate humanitarian organizations. We'll never know, because the Patriot Act shields the government's action from any challenge in open court.

Still another Patriot Act provision criminalizes speech by making it illegal to provide "expert advice" to designated "terrorist organizations." It is no defense under the law that one's advice had no connection to terrorism, or even that one's advice was designed to discourage the use of violence. I represent a human rights organization in Los Angeles, the Humanitarian Law Project, which had been providing human rights training and advice to a Kurdish group in Turkey until the group was designated as "terrorist." It then became a crime, the government argues, for my clients to continue to advise the Kurdish group to use lawful, nonviolent human rights advocacy to resolve their disputes with the Turkish government. This provision, too, is not subject to sunset, even though a US district court has declared it unconstitutional. (In the national intelligence law enacted in December, Congress amended this provision, but only to define "expert advice" as advice based on "specialized knowledge"—a standard that continues to criminalize human rights training.)

So the Patriot Act imposes guilt by association, punishes speech, authorizes the use of secret evidence and allows detention without charges—yet none of that will be subject to the Patriot Act debates. Nor will the debates address the civil liberties abuses committed by US law enforcement agencies or the military outside the Patriot Act—such as the incommunicado detention, without charges or hearings, of hundreds of "enemy combatants" around the world; the use of immigration law to launch a nationwide campaign of ethnic profiling and to detain more than 5,000 foreign nationals, virtually all Arabs or Muslims, none of whom have been convicted of a terrorist crime; the development and application of computer data-mining programs that afford the government ready access to a wealth of private information about all of us without any basis for suspicion; the FBI's monitoring of public meetings and religious services without any grounds for suspecting criminal activity, under guidelines written by John Ashcroft; and, of course, the use of "coercive interrogation" to extract in-formation from suspects in the war on terror, including such tactics as "waterboarding," in which the suspect is made to fear that he is drowning.

Even with regard to the handful of Patriot Act sections that are actually being reviewed, the debate is sharply limited, and fails to confront fundamental civil liberties questions. Consider Section 218, which allows the government to obtain warrants for wiretaps and searches in criminal investigations without showing probable cause of criminal behavior, so long as the investigation also has a "significant [foreign intelligence] purpose." "Foreign intelligence" wiretap warrants have increased by 74 percent over the past four years, and now annually outstrip criminal wiretap warrants. In no other area have the courts permitted criminal search or wiretap warrants on less than probable cause of crime. Yet because the government credits this provision with collapsing "the wall" between law enforcement and intelligence agents, and everyone seems to agree that the wall was a bad thing, this section is almost certain to be made permanent.

In fact, federal law never barred intelligence agents conducting a foreign intelligence investigation from sharing evidence of crime with prosecutors. Many defendants were successfully prosecuted using information obtained during foreign intelligence searches before the Patriot Act was enacted. But the myth of "the wall" is so widely accepted that there's hardly room for disagreement.

The more fundamental myth is that "foreign intelligence" investigations are about terrorism. The government repeatedly claims, for example, that the Patriot Act merely extended to terrorism investigations various tools—such as roving wiretaps, telephone traces and document subpoenas—previously available for drug crimes. But such tools have long been available for investigation of terrorist *crimes*. What the Patriot Act did was to extend them to "foreign intelligence" investigations, which may have nothing whatsoever to do with terrorism or crime. A "foreign intelligence" investigation need only concern foreign-policy-related information about an agent of a foreign power—defined so broadly that it includes any foreign national employee of any organization not composed substantially of US citizens.

Thus, the Patriot Act permits tools previously limited to

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criminal investigations to be used to investigate, say, a British lawyer working for Amnesty International who is not suspected of any involvement in terrorism or crime. Yet no one has suggested limiting the definition of an agent of a foreign power to "terrorists and spies," the examples the government invariably uses when it defends the law.

The same point applies to Section 215, the libraries provision. The government claims that the power to demand records from libraries or other business entities established in Section 215 already existed before the Patriot Act, in the guise of a grand jury subpoena. But a grand jury subpoena is available only when the government has sufficient grounds to believe a crime has been committed to go to the trouble of empaneling a grand jury. Section 215 can be triggered without any evidence of wrongdoing whatsoever—the law would justify a search of library records to see who has checked out the same books as the Amnesty International lawyer, for example. The critical shift is from an investigation focused on *crime* to one focused on *political activity* of foreign agents. Yet critics of Section 215 have not suggested narrowing the expansive definitions of "agent of a foreign power" or "foreign intelligence," which are at the root of the problem.

The act's immigration provisions haven't generated the same concern as its surveillance ones because they apply to 'them,' not 'us.'

So the Patriot Act debate will focus on at most a handful of provisions in a sweeping law. It will not address many of the most troubling provisions of that law, or other practices of the Administration that raise far more substantial constitutional questions. And even with respect to the few provisions that will be addressed, the most fundamental issues will be skirted. This is attributable to two factors. First, many of the most pernicious aspects of the Patriot Act, and of the "war on terror" generally, affect foreign nationals exclusively, or nearly exclusively. The act's immigration provisions haven't generated the same concern as the surveillance provisions, not because they are less problematic but because they apply only to "them," not "us." The same is true with respect to practices like torture and rendition, tactics largely reserved for foreign nationals, which have failed to generate the kind of grassroots concern that the libraries provision has.

This double standard also infects the surveillance provisions. The foreign-intelligence-gathering powers apply very differently to visiting foreign nationals (those who come to this country to work, study or visit) than to "U.S. persons" (citizens and permanent residents). In order to invoke these powers against the latter, the government must show something much closer to criminal probable cause and may not rely solely on First Amendment–protected activity. There is no logical or legal reason why a foreign student living here should have fewer privacy or speech rights than her US citizen classmate. The reason is political—it is always easier to impose such burdens on the most vulnerable.

The second reason for the inadequate debate is less deeply rooted, but no less troubling. These days it seems that the only issues on which the current national political stage offers liberals any traction are those of mutual concern to conservatives. Understanding this, the ACLU has entered into an alliance, called Patriots to Restore Checks and Balances, with conservative groups such as Grover Norquist's Americans for Tax Reform, Phyllis Schlafly's Eagle Forum and the Citizens Committee for the Right to Keep and Bear Arms. Members of the House of Representatives have similarly formed a "tripartisan" "Patriot Act Reform Caucus" featuring unlikely bedfellows Bernie Sanders, a Vermont Independent; Butch Otter, an Idaho Republican; and John Conyers, a Michigan Democrat.

In the short term, such alliances may well be necessary. It's hard to see how else to get anything done in Congress. But the cost of this compromise has been to submerge significant parts of the liberal reform agenda. The ACLU's brief on what Congress should do about the Patriot Act does not mention the immigration provisions detailed above, nor the use of secret evidence to close down charities. Material support is buried at the end of the memo. The memo does not even take on the double standard embedded in foreign intelligence law. These are not issues that conservative groups have championed, and therefore the ACLU's focus has become the conservatives' focus—the surveillance provisions that might be used against American citizens.

Balancing short-term gains against long-term costs is never easy. Were I in the ACLU's shoes, I might do the same thing. With the conservatives, liberals have a chance of achieving some reform; without them, there might well be no chance. But we should not ignore the long-term costs associated with such an approach—we reinforce the notion that the rights conservatives care about are somehow more important.

A more promising strategy for the long haul, particularly given the anti-alien character of so many initiatives in the war on terror, would be to emphasize a human rights approach. Human rights, after all, are owed to every person, by virtue of their human dignity, irrespective of the passport they carry. As a strategic matter, human rights campaigns can tap into the power of world opinion and bring it to bear at home, especially when the United States selectively abuses the rights of other countries' nationals. By shrinking the world, the Internet has made international mobilization far more efficient and effective. Such a human rights strategy has proved particularly successful, for example, with respect to Guantánamo Bay, where the Bush Administration has been forced from confident assertions of literally unchecked power to a search for a face-saving exit strategy. Critical voices from abroad, especially Europe, mobilized by human rights concerns, created pressure that forced the Administration to negotiate and likely led the Supreme Court to take the legal challenges more seriously than it otherwise would.

One of my favorite postelection maps showed the United States divided along the traditional, and increasingly ossified, red and blue state lines. But it was a map of the world, not only of the United States—and the rest of the world was blue. That may not be entirely accurate, but it does suggest that we might find more fruitful allies by appealing to international human rights and principles of human dignity than by joining forces with progun, antitax conservatives. ■

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Letter From Jordan
by Stephen Glain

AIR MAIL
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KINGDOM OF CORRUPTION

Poetry as political manifesto has a long history in the Arab world. The Prophet Mohammed frequently won over converts to Islam with elegant recitals. Caliphs often deployed serrated verses from their court poet to undermine rivals. So in January, when revered Jordanian poet Haider Mahmoud wrote a thinly veiled ode to King Abdullah II warning him about deepening corruption in the Hashemite Kingdom, the palace quickly went to work—on him.

Mahmoud was attacked in Jordan's state-controlled press as a traitor, and his son was pressured into resigning his position at the foreign ministry. Jordan's then–prime minister, Faisal al-Fayez, ordered the mayor of Amman to fire Mahmoud as general director of the city's cultural center. (Faisal backed off after learning the position was unpaid, but Mahmoud resigned anyway.) The offending poem—titled "Saray," a Turkish word for "the palace," but also "the sultan"—became known to Jordanians only after it appeared in a London-based Arabic-language newspaper because no local publisher would touch it.

Mahmoud, who generally avoids controversy, says he wrote "Saray" out of concern that Jordan's vertiginous corruption threatens the integrity, and perhaps the very survival, of the monarchy. "It was not an attack," he says. "I care for this country. The poem was a message from the people to the leader against the corruption around him."

Mahmoud got off easy. These days, public criticism of the Hashemite monarchy can lead to official harassment, detention, arrest and imprisonment—usually in rapid succession. Since February 1999, when Abdullah assumed the throne after his father died of cancer, Jordan has become increasingly authoritarian. At a time when several Arab regimes are at least feinting toward political reform, Jordan is goose-stepping backward. Freedom of assembly has been restricted, and the threshold for dissent has been ratcheted down as political prisoners accumulate and oppositionists are rattled out of bed for interrogation. Journalists have been intimidated or bribed into spying on colleagues and sources. Street demonstrations have been all but eliminated by laws that require protesters to carry permits that are prohibitively difficult to obtain. The tax burden on ordinary Jordanians has intensified as living standards steadily recede. The appeal of Islamic groups is rising inversely to the monarchy's diminished credibility, even among the kingdom's traditionally secular, closely knit and increasingly restive tribes.

Corruption, defiantly uninhibited compared with the low-key looting that percolated under the late King Hussein, has soared. And although diplomats tend to absolve Abdullah of wrongdoing—he is deceived, they imply, by courtiers scheming behind his back—a growing number of Jordanians believe that the 43-year-old monarch is not only aware of the plundering but may be very much a part of it.

"I don't think the monarchy enjoys any popularity with the people," says Toujan Faisal, a former member of Parliament who was jailed for 100 days three years ago after she accused the government of graft. "King Hussein tolerated a margin of corruption, but not the extent to which it exists now."

In short, Jordan has degenerated into the kind of despotic kleptocracy the Bush Administration says it will no longer tolerate. But tolerate it the White House does, inclusive of the roughly $450 million in annual economic and military aid that has become the standard rate for maintaining Jordan's peace treaty with Israel and its support for America's "war on terror."

True, Washington has always indulged Jordan, a buffer state between Israel and the other Arab nations—the country is even shaped like a bottle stopper—by turning a blind eye to its human rights abuses. And it was Hussein, after all, who installed as heir apparent the little-known and unseasoned Abdullah just before he succumbed to cancer. In February the State Department gave Jordan a delicate reproach in its annual human rights report. But beyond that, the kingdom is under little public pressure to fight corruption and allow its rubber-stamp Parliament and feeble political opposition to assert themselves.

"The Hashemites are the fair-haired boys," says a US government official. "The King is such a sycophant, telling Washington what it wants to hear and bashing people like [Syrian president] Bashar al-Assad, that they get away with everything."

Americans got a glimpse at the dark side of their plucky Arab ally early this year, when President Bush was asked at a news conference about Ali Hattar, a Jordanian mechanical engineer who spent a night in jail and was fined after he publicly condemned Jordan's peace treaty with Israel and called for a boycott of US goods. Bush was unaware of the case, which had been otherwise overlooked by the Western press.

Hattar was only the most recent target in a series of controversial arrests and detentions that have followed Abdullah's ascension to power. In December 1999 Khalil Deek, a US citizen, was arrested in Pakistan and deported to his native Jordan on suspicion of having links with Al Qaeda. He was interrogated without a lawyer present and jailed without charge, only to be released two years later for lack of evidence. Faisal, the former parliamentarian, was jailed in March 2002 for "spreading rumors that incite disturbances and crimes," among other charges, and was freed after a monthlong hunger strike. The former university lecturer says she was imprisoned only after security agents tried to buy her silence with offers of money and luxury cars. "I asked for reform and was offered only bribes and then jail," she says.

Stephen Glain, a correspondent for Newsweek International, *is the author of* Mullahs, Merchants, and Militants: The Economic Collapse of the Arab World. *From 1998 to 2001 he was the* Wall Street Journal*'s Middle East correspondent, based in Amman.*

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In January security agents staged a midnight roundup of Islamic leaders who had criticized government policies while leading Friday prayers. Several were taken to a police precinct and left there overnight. According to the government, the men were detained for violating the state's laws on preaching and spiritual guidance. "It was very, very savage treatment," says Abdul-Lateef Arabiyat, former secretary-general of the Islamic Action Front, who like most of Jordan's established Muslim leaders is fiercely moderate. "This would not have happened under King Hussein."

Then, in early March, leaders of Jordan's Professional Associations Council, a federation of white-collar unions, called for a sit-in to protest a draft law they say would neutralize their ability to organize and mount the closest thing Jordan has to political opposition. Police shut down the demonstration by cordoning off the council's headquarters, the fourth time this year that authorities have banned such an assembly. Security agents also detained a television news crew that had filmed the incident and confiscated its video.

'I asked for reform and was offered only bribes and then jail.'

—former MP Toujan Faisal

"Even during martial law [during Jordan's 1970 civil war], public gathering was a right for the people," says Hussein Mjali, who in March resigned as head of the Jordanian Bar Association to protest the draft law. "Now it is a gift from the ruler."

The steady erosion of civil liberties is matched only by the seismic growth of corruption. A large share of the private fortunes that fled war-torn Iraq has been deposited in Jordan, where it is leavening an underground economy that had already thrived off the UN-run Oil for Food program. Enormous villas have mushroomed in Amman's most fashionable districts, and luxury cars choke the city's roads. It is a gross and potentially destabilizing display of wealth in a country with an annual per capita income of $1,700, chronic unemployment and a population growth rate of 2.6 percent. And in harmony with Jordan's growing tolerance of corruption, this month King Abdullah agreed to overturn the 1992 conviction of Pentagon outcast Ahmad Chalabi, now a deputy prime minister in Iraq's new government, for his role in the collapse of a major Jordanian bank. "There is a new look to the corruption in Jordan," says journalist Abdullah Abu Romman. "Traditionally, we'd say the corrupt man is a thief. Now we look up to him as someone who was smart enough to avoid getting caught."

Enter the Shaheen brothers. From humble beginnings as West Bank vegetable merchants, Khaled, Riyadh and Akram Shaheen have established themselves as the Jordanian government's contractors of choice. According to a 1999 *Times* of London story, the Shaheens have known Abdullah since Khaled met him at a sports event in Dubai nearly ten years ago. Khaled, reported the *Times*, "went on to shower [the King] with gifts, including, allegedly, a Porsche." Not long after Abdullah's coronation, the government dropped Mercedes-Benz as its fleet automobile and logged a massive order with BMW—which had only months before tapped the Shaheens as its local distributor.

Since then, the Shaheens have rung up one major contract after another. In 2003 a Shaheen-controlled company was given a large share of a contract to train Iraqi policemen, even though it had no experience in such work (the value of the Shaheens' share is unknown, but the total cost of the operation could surpass $1 billion). In March 2004 a Shaheen subsidiary won a $72 million Pentagon contract to supply fuel to coalition forces in Iraq. The deal was canceled a week later because the company was unable to meet its obligations. It turned out the Shaheens knew nothing of the oil-supply business beyond what they learned by smuggling more than 7 million barrels from Iraq in 2003, according to an investigation by Britain's *Financial Times* and Italy's *Il Sole 24 Ore*. A government spokesperson said there is no relationship between King Abdullah and the Shaheens.

Business continues to come the Shaheens' way despite their poor credit history. In 1995 Jordan's Arab Bank sued the family to recoup $40 million in outstanding loans. Five years later the Standard Chartered Bank of London filed suit against the brothers for unpaid debts worth $77 million. "The Shaheens have been a factor for years," says a diplomat in Amman. "They have given the consistent impression that this is not a level playing field. And it doesn't help when they talk about having top-level protection."

Charges of corruption have even tainted Jordan's *awqaf*, the charitable trust that in Islamic countries is an important source of finance for social welfare programs. Ghazi Zaben, a first-term parliamentarian, recently opened an investigation into *awqaf* funding, and is also looking into allegations that the former minister of *awqaf* and Islamic affairs, Ahmad Hilayel, profited from hajj-related travel packages. Hilayel, who was replaced in a recent Cabinet shuffle, was attacked in Mecca late last year by pilgrims angered at what they said was price-gouging by companies related to him.

Zaben, a plastic surgeon by trade, said he launched his investigation because of discrepancies between what the *awqaf* was reporting as allocations to his district and what his constituents were actually collecting. "These numbers don't add up," says Zaben, leafing through a file of documents several inches thick. "At this point we can't say the *awqaf* is corrupt, though we do know [Hilayel's wife] has stakes in companies that arrange trips to Mecca and those crowds obviously thought they had a good reason to beat him up. That's why we're having these hearings."

Corruption probes in Jordan have a way of getting blocked, however, and Zaben says he has already been pressured by Hilayel's "good will messengers" to back off. "Frankly, I don't think I'll get very far," he says. "But it's worth it. Perhaps it will encourage other MPs to launch their own investigations."

Zaben represents the Central Badia district, a cluster of villages linked by rutted, single-lane roads. It is inhabited largely by the Beni Sakhr, a once-powerful tribe that has been diminished over the years by poverty entrenched by official neglect. Like many Bedouin tribesmen, the Beni Sakhr lack the skills needed to survive in a modern economy, and the state has failed to provide them with adequate education and vocational training. Zaben considers himself fortunate to have secured the state funds needed to build a new highway that will dramatically cut the time

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it takes to get from one end of Badia to the other. Projects like this, he says, help him compete with the Islamists for influence among his constituents. "People are now more religious," he says above the din of a steamroller smashing chunks of granite into a foundation for the new road. "What else do they have?"

Zaben tours his district, a mere forty-minute drive from Amman, in his son's late-model Jeep Cherokee. He is warmly welcomed as he calls unannounced on homes made of cinder-block walls and corrugated steel roofs suspended by narrow, roughly hewn wooden beams. The average income here is about half the national level and most families rely on the *awqaf* to get by. Beni Sakhr tribesmen used to be well represented in Jordan's armed forces until the government required new recruits to have at least a high school education.

"We're not getting the schools we need," says Awad Shamoor, a minor sheik, after greeting Zaben in an outdoor circle of tea-sipping notables. Shamoor, a security guard at a high school, makes about $100 a month. He is affluent by Badia standards, with two of his seven children in college. To finance their tuition and other expenses, he has been selling strips of his estate—land that has been in his family for generations—to wealthy Palestinians. "I used to own 200 dunams [about 800 acres]," Shamoor says between sips of tea. "Now I'm down to ten."

As Shamoor's estate has dwindled, King Abdullah has expanded his—or at least that's how some Jordanian dissidents are interpreting a May 10, 2000, government memo. In the memo, a copy of which has been obtained by *The Nation*, the Aqaba Regional Authority informs the land registrar of a decision "to register all the land that belongs to the treasury that is in field no. 1 and also the land no. 51 which is in field no. 3 from Aqaba land, in His Majesty Abdullah's name"; in a similar memo, dated less than a year later, the registrar orders its regional offices to "register land in Naour, Lipat, Bilalal, Um Qasyr, Samek, in the name of His Majesty, Abdullah, [and] to cancel land use...from list no. 7...for municipal use and re-register it in the name of His Majesty Abdullah (God protect and preserve him)." The government spokesperson acknowledged "swaps" between crown property and public land, but only to expedite public-works projects. In such exchanges, she said, the value greatly favors the state rather than the crown.

Rumors of a royal land grab have simmered for years. In 2001, according to a source close to the palace, Abdullah sold for $43 million property his father confiscated under martial law in 1982. The palace denies this. Laith Shubuilat, a former parliamentarian who has spent much of his political career in opposition, says a recent decision to let the army control Jordan's largest freshwater reserve will give the King de facto control of it.

"The army is the King's power base," says Shubuilat. "The King is robbing the government and the army is his bagman."

Perhaps not surprisingly, there is in Jordan today a transcendent nostalgia for the light touch of the late king. Six years after his death Jordanians of all ethnicities and sects—even among those who oppose the monarchy—speak mystically of Hussein as if he were still among them, like a twitch in an amputated limb. It is why many cherish the 25-year-old Prince Hamzah, Hussein's son by Queen Noor, who bears an uncanny resemblance to his father and is said to have inherited his legendary charisma and body language. Days before his death Hussein made the elevation of Abdullah as his successor conditional on Abdullah's maintaining Hamzah as crown prince and heir apparent.

Last year Hamzah abruptly vacated his offices to make room for a primary school run by Queen Rania for the children of Amman's rich elites—a conspicuous and somewhat ironic move in a country with a failing public school system. In November Abdullah relieved Hamzah as crown prince—a gesture, the king declared in a televised message, that would allow his half-brother "more freedom of movement." Following the announcement palace officials phoned journalists and recommended they keep the reporting to a minimum. "We were told it was purely a family matter," says Randa Habib, Jordan bureau chief for Agence France-Presse.

In response to his dismissal, Hamzah sent the king a verse from the Koran, published by several Jordanian newspapers, about the hypocrisies of unjust leadership. ■

EXCHANGE
CONTINUED

(Continued From Page 2)

parents' deportation and death in 1938, was responsible not only for the Kristallnacht episode two days later but for all else that followed right down to the bombing of Dresden and the siege of Berlin. Yet how is that different from the intellectual shell game he is engaged in?

Of course the Jews who perished in the Nazi death camps did so regardless of their religious or political beliefs. But Nazi racism did not arise out of thin air; it derived from the myth of "Judeo-Bolshevism," the idea that Communism was merely the latest manifestation of an age-old Jewish conspiracy aimed at undermining the Aryan nation. This in itself suggests that Nazism and Bolshevism were not brothers under the skin and that the Russian Revolution was not the uniformly negative phenomenon Reiss believes it to have been. Despite his efforts to drum up sympathy for Lev Nussimbaum, I must confess to feeling very little for a Jewish fascist who wrote in support of the Axis at a time when the Final Solution was well under way.

I will concede one point, however. Apparently, I was wrong to suggest that Reiss absorbed his politics from *The New Yorker* and must take him at his word that he developed his muddled ideas on his own. DANIEL LAZARE

MAY MADNESS

■ In Studs Terkel's May 16 "Pete Seeger Is 86," a typo made it appear as if Pete started his project to clean up the Hudson four years ago. He started it in 1969. Also, we landlubbers called the Clearwater a schooner; it is a sloop.

In the same issue, in Alexander Cockburn's "Beat the Devil" column, an editorial error resulted in a US Embassy official in Tel Aviv being referred to as the ambassador.

In Arthur C. Danto's May 9 "Flyboy in the Buttermilk," Jean-Michel Basquiat's alma mater, St. Ann's School in Brooklyn, was mistakenly labeled as Catholic. It was founded by St. Ann's Episcopal Church.

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BOOKS & THE ARTS

The Family World System

PERRY ANDERSON

BETWEEN SEX AND POWER: Family in the World, 1900–2000.
By Göran Therborn.
Routledge. 379 pp. $47.95.

Few topics of fundamental importance have, at first glance, generated so much numbing literature as the family. The appearance is unjust, but not incomprehensible. For the discrepancy between the vivid existential drama into which virtually every human being is plunged at birth and the generalized statistical pall of demographic surveys and household studies often looks irremediable: as if subjective experience and objective calibration have no meeting point. Anthropological studies of kinship remain the most technical area of the discipline. Images of crushing dullness have been alleviated, but not greatly altered, by popularizations of the past—works like *The World We Have Lost* (1965) by Peter Laslett, the doyen of Cambridge family reconstruction—fond albums of a time when "the whole of life went forward in the family, in a circle of loved, familiar faces," within a "one-class society." The one outstanding contemporary synthesis, William Goode's *World Revolution and Family Patterns* (1963), which argued that the model of the Western conjugal family was likely to become universal, since it best fulfilled the needs of industrialization, has never acquired the standing its generosity of scope and spirit deserved. Family studies are certainly no desert. They are densely populated, but much of the terrain forms a featureless plain of functions and numbers stretching away to the horizon, broken only by clumps of sentiment.

Over this landscape, Göran Therborn's *Between Sex and Power* rises like a majestic volcano. Throwing up a billowing column of the boldest ideas and arguments, while an awesome lava of evidence flows down its slopes, this is a great work of historical intellect and imagination. It is the fruit of a rare combination of gifts. Trained as a sociologist, Therborn is a highly conceptual thinker, allying the formal rigor of his discipline at its best with a command of a vast range of empirical data. The result is a powerful theoretical structure, supported by a fascinating body of evidence. But it is also a set of macronarratives that compose perhaps the first true example we possess of a work of global history. Most writing that lays claim to this term, whatever other merits it may display, ventures beyond certain core zones of attention only selectively and patchily. In the case of general histories of the world, of which there are now more than a few, problems of sheer scale alone have dictated strict limits to even the finest enterprises.

Between Sex and Power provides a truly global history of the family in the twentieth century, omitting no corner of the planet.

Therborn, by contrast, in focusing on just one dimension of existence, develops a map of human changes over time that is faithful to the complexity and diversity of the world in an arrestingly new way, omitting no corner of the planet. Not just every inhabited continent is included in this history; differences between nations or regions within each—from China and Japan to Uruguay and Colombia, north to south India, Gabon to Burkina Faso, Turkey to Persia, Norway to Portugal—are scanned with a discriminating eye. Such ecumenical curiosity is the antithesis of Barrington Moore's conviction that, in comparative history, only big countries matter. Not surprisingly, the challenge is the attractive product of a small country. Therborn's sensibility reflects his nationality: In modern times Sweden, situated on the northern margins of Europe, with a population about the size of New Jersey's, has for the most part been an inconspicuous spectator of

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world politics. But in the affairs of the family, it has more than once been a pacesetter. That a comparative tour de force on them should be written by a Swede is peculiarly appropriate.

Surveying the world, Therborn distinguishes five major family systems: European (including New World and Pacific settlements), East Asian, sub-Saharan African, West Asian/North African and Subcontinental, with a further two more "interstitial" ones, Southeast Asian and Creole American. Although each of the major systems is the heartland of a distinctive religious or ethical code—Christian, Confucian, Animist, Muslim, Hindu—and the interstitial ones are zones of overlapping codes, the systems themselves form many "geocultures" in which elements of a common history can override contrasts of belief within them. This cultural backdrop lends color and texture to *Between Sex and Power*. The book's tone recalls aspects of Eric Hobsbawm, in its crisp judgments and dry wit. While Therborn is necessarily far more statistical in style, something of the same literary and anecdotal liveliness is present too. Amid an abundance of gripping arithmetic, novels and plays, memoirs and marriage ads have their place in the narrative. Most striking of all, in a field so dominated by social or merely technical registers, is the political construction Therborn gives to the history of the family in the twentieth century.

What are the central propositions of the book? All traditional family systems, Therborn argues, have comprised three regimes: of patriarchy, marriage and fertility (crudely summarized—who calls the shots in the family, how people hitch up, how many kids result). *Between Sex and Power* sets out to trace the modern history of each. For Therborn patriarchy is male family power, typically invested in fathers and husbands, not the subordination of or discrimination against women in general—gender inequality being a broader phenomenon. At the beginning of his story, around 1900, patriarchy in this classical sense was a universal pattern, albeit with uneven gradations. In Europe, the French Revolution had failed to challenge it, issuing in the ferocious family clauses of the Napoleonic Code, while subsequent industrial capitalism—in North America as in Europe—relied no less on patriarchal norms as a sheet anchor of moral stability. Confucian and Muslim codes were far more draconian, though the "minute regulations" of the former set some limits to the potential for a "blank cheque" for male power. Arrangements were looser in much of sub-Saharan Africa, Creole America and Southeast Asia. Harshest of all was the Hindu system of North India, in a league of its own for repression. As Therborn notes, this is one of the very few parts of the world where men live longer than women, even today.

The 'big loser of the twentieth century,' Göran Therborn argues, was patriarchy, yielding more ground than religion or tyranny.

By 2000, however, patriarchy had become "the big loser of the twentieth century," as Therborn puts it, yielding far more ground than religion or tyranny. "Probably no other social institution has been forced to retreat as much." This rollback was not just an outcome of gradual processes of modernization, in the bland scheme of structural-functional sociology. It was principally the product of three political hammer blows. The first of these, Therborn shows, came in the throes of the First World War in Sweden, where full legal parity between husband and wife was first enacted, and then, in a more radical series of measures, the October Revolution dismantled the whole juridical apparatus of patriarchy in Russia, with a much more overt emphasis on sexual equality as such. Conduct, of course, was never the same as codification. "The legal family revolution of the Bolsheviks was very much ahead of Russian societal time, and Soviet family practices did not immediately dance to political music, however loud and powerful." But the shock wave in the world generated by the Russian example was, Therborn rightly emphasizes, enormous.

The Second World War delivered the next great blow on the other side of the world, again in contrasted neighboring forms. In occupied Japan, General MacArthur's staff imposed a Constitution proclaiming "the essential equality of the sexes"—a notion, of course, that has still to find a place in the American Constitution—and a civil code based on conjugal symmetry. In liberated China, the victory of Communism "meant a full-scale assault on the most ancient and elaborate patriarchy of the world," obliterating all legal traces of the Confucian order.

Finally, a third wave of emancipation was unleashed by the youth rebellions of the late 1960s, which segued into modern feminism. (When the revolt of May 1968 erupted in France, the country's High Court was still upholding the French husband's right to forbid his wife to move out, even if he was publicly maintaining a mistress.) Here the inauguration by the United Nations of an international Decade for Women in 1975 (also the ultimate outcome of a Communist initiative, on the part of the Finnish daughter of one of Khrushchev's Politburo veterans) is taken by Therborn as the turning point in a global discrediting of patriarchy, whose last legal redoubt in the United States—in Louisiana—was struck down by the Supreme Court as late as 1981.

The rule of the father has not disappeared. In the world at large, West Asia, Africa and South Asia remain the principal holdouts. Islam itself, Therborn suggests, may be less to blame for the resilience of Arab patriarchy than the corruption of the secular forces once opposed to it, abetted by America and Israel. In India, on the other hand, there is no mistaking the degree of misogyny in caste and religion, even if the mediation of patriarchal authority by market mechanisms has its postmodern ambiguities. Surveying the "blatant instrumentalism" of the matrimonial pages of a middle-class Indian press, in which "more than 99 per cent of the ads vaunted socio-economic offers and desires," he wonders: "To what extent are parents the 'agents' of young people, in the same sense as any money-seeking athlete, musician or writer has an agent?" At the opposite extreme is Euro-American postpatriarchy, in which men and women possess equal rights but still far from equal resources—women enjoying on average not much more than half (55–60 percent) the income and wealth of men.

In between these poles come the homelands of the Communist revolutions, which did so much to transform the landscape of patriarchy in the last century. The collapse of the Soviet bloc has not seen any restoration in this respect, whatever other regressions it may involve ("the power of fathers and husbands does not seem to have increased," though "that of pimps certainly has"). Therborn speculates that in both Russia and Eastern Europe, the original revolutionary gains may prove Communism's most lasting legacy. In China, on the other hand, there is much further to go, amid more

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signs of recidivist urges in civil society. Still, he points out, not only is gender inequality in wages and salaries far lower in the PRC than in Taiwan—by a factor of three—but patriarchy proper, as indicated by conjugal residence and division of labor, continues to be weaker.

The first part of Therborn's story is thus eminently political. As he remarks, this is logical enough, since patriarchy is about power. His second part moves to sex. In questions of marriage, Europe—or, more precisely, Western Europe and those of its marchlands affected by German colonization in the Middle Ages—diverged from the rest of the world far earlier than in matters of patriarchy. In this zone a unique marital regime had already developed in pre-industrial times, combining late monogamy, significant numbers of unmarried people and Christian norms of conjugal duty, contradictorily surrounded by a certain penumbra of informal sex. The key result was "neolocality," or the exit of wedded couples from parental households. Everywhere else in the world, Therborn maintains, the rule was universal marriage, typically at earlier ages, as the necessary entry into adulthood. (He does not make it clear whether he thinks this applies to all preclass societies, where such a rule might be doubted.)

Paradoxically, although patterns of marriage might be thought to have varied more widely around the world than forms of patriarchy, Therborn has much less to say about them. Polyandry is never mentioned, the map of monogamy is unexplored, nor is any taxonomy of polygamy offered beyond a tacit distinction between elite and mass variants (the latter peculiar to sub-Sahara). The base line of his tale of marriage is set by a contrast between two deviant areas and all other arrangements. The first of these is the West European anomaly, with its subsequent overseas projections into North America and the Pacific. The second is the Creole, born in plantation and mining zones of the Caribbean and Latin America with a substantial black, mulatto or mestizo population, where a uniquely deregulated sexual regime developed.

Some startling figures emerge from Therborn's comparison. If sexual mores in Europe first became widely relaxed in aristocratic circles of the eighteenth century, flouting of conventional norms reached epidemic proportions among the lower classes of many cities in the nineteenth, if only by reason of the costs of marriage. At various points in the latter part of the century, a third of all births in Paris, half in Vienna and more than two-thirds in Klagenfurt were out of wedlock. By 1900 such figures had fallen, and national averages of illegitimacy had become quite modest (Austrians still outpacing African-Americans, however). Matters were much wilder in the Creole system, readers of García Márquez will not be surprised to learn. "Iberian colonial America and the West Indies were the stage of the largest-scale assault on marriage in history." In the mid-nineteenth century between a third and half of the population of Bahia never tied the knot; in the Rio de la Plata region, extramarital births were four to five times the levels in Spain and Italy; around 1900 as many as four-fifths of sexual unions in Mexico City may have been without benefit of clergy.

These were the colorful exceptions. Throughout Asia, Africa, Russia and most of Eastern Europe, marriage in one form or another was inescapable. A century later, Therborn's account suggests, much less has changed than in the order of patriarchy. Creole America has become more marital, at least in periods of relative prosperity, but remains the most casual about

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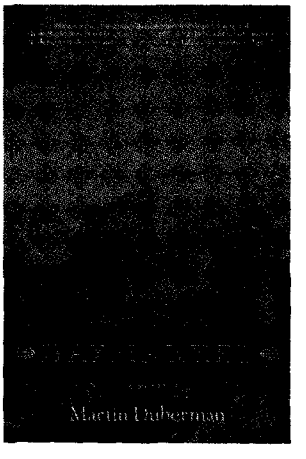

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the institution. In Asia, now mostly monogamous, and sub-Saharan Africa, still largely polygamous, marriage continues to be a universal norm—with pockets of slippage only in the big cities of Japan, Southeast Asia and South Africa—but the age at which it is contracted has risen. If divorce of one kind or another has become nearly universal as a legal possibility, its practice is much more restricted—in the Hindu "cow belt," virtually zero. At the top end of the scale, in born-again America and post-Communist Russia, any wedding guest is entitled to be quizzical: Half of all marriages break up. But with successive attempts at conjugal bliss, the crude marriage rate has not fallen in the United States. Globally, it would seem, the predominant note is stability.

In one zone, however, Therborn tracks a major change. After marrying as never before in the middle decades of the century, Western Europeans started to secede from altar and registry in increasing numbers. Sweden was once again the vanguard country, and it still remains well ahead of its Scandinavian neighbors, not to speak of lands farther south. The innovation it pioneered, from the late 1960s onward, was mass informal cohabitation. Thirty years later, the great majority of Swedish women giving birth to their first child—nearly 70 percent—were either cohabiting or single mothers. Marriage might or might not follow cohabitation. What became a minority option, in one country after another—Britain, France, Germany—was marriage before it. In Catholic France and Protestant England alike, extramarital births jumped from 6–8 percent to 40–42 percent in the space of four decades.

Manifestly, the sexual revolution of the 1960s and '70s lay behind this spectacular transformation. Therborn notes the arrival of the pill and IUD as facilitating conditions, but he is more interested in consequences. What did it add up to? In effect, a double liberation: more partners and—especially for women—more pleasure. In Finland in the early 1970s, women had bedded an average of three men; in the early '90s the number had risen to six (by then the gap in erotic satisfaction between the sexes had closed). In Sweden the median number of women's lovers more than tripled during the same period, a much greater increase than for men. "More than anything else," Therborn concludes, "this is what the sexual revolution has brought: a long period for pre-marital sex, and a plurality of sexual partners over a lifetime becoming a 'normal' phenomenon, in a statistical as well as in a moral sense."

How far does the United States conform to the emergent European pattern? Only in part, as its different religious and political complexion would lead one to expect. Europeans will be astonished to learn that in 2000 about a fifth of American 18- to 24-year-olds claimed to be virgins on their wedding day. Only 6 percent of American couples cohabited. More than 70 percent of mothers at first birth are married. On the other hand, the United States has nearly twice as many teenage births per cohort as the highest country in the EU and an extramarital birthrate higher than that of the Netherlands. Without going much into race or region, Therborn describes the American system as "dualist." But from the evidence he provides, it might be thought that electoral divisions are reflected in sexual contrasts, blue and red in the boudoir too.

In 2000, only 6 percent of American couples cohabited, while in Western Europe cohabitation generally precedes marriage.

In the last part of *Between Sex and Power*, Therborn moves to fertility. Here the conundrum is the "demographic transition"—the standard term for the shift from a regime of low growth, combining lots of children and many early deaths, to one of high growth, combining many children but fewer deaths, and then back to another one of low growth, this time with both fewer deaths and fewer children. There is no mystery about the way medical advances and better diets led to falling rates of mortality in nineteenth-century Europe and eventually reached most of the world, to similar effect, in the second half of the twentieth century. The big question is why birthrates fell, first in Europe and North America between the 1880s and 1930s, and then for the majority of the human race from the mid-1970s onward, in two uncannily similar waves. In each case, "a process rapidly cutting through and across state boundaries, levels of industrialization, urbanization and levels of income, across religions, ideologies and family systems" slashed fertility rates by 30–40 percent in three decades. Today, the average family has no more than two to three children throughout most of the former Third World.

What explains these gigantic changes? The first nations to experience a significant fall in fertility were France and the United States, by 1830—generations in advance of all others. What they had in common, Therborn suggests, was their popular revolutions, which had given ordinary people a sense of self-mastery. Once the benefits of smaller families became clear in these societies, neolocality allowed couples to make their own decisions to improve their lives before any modern means of contraception were available. Fifty years later, perhaps triggered initially by the onset of a world recession, mass birth control began to roll through Europe, eventually sweeping all the way from Portugal to Russia. This time, Therborn's hypothesis runs, it was a combination of radical socialist and secular movements popularizing the idea of family planning, together with the spread of literacy, that brought lower fertility as part of an increasingly self-conscious culture of modernity. This was birth control from below.

In the Third World, by contrast, contraception—now an easy technology—was typically propagated or imposed from above, by political fiat of the state. China's one-child policy has been the most dramatic, if extreme, example. Once lower birthrates became a general goal of governments committed to modernization, family systems then determined the order in which societies entered the new regime: East Asia in the lead, North India and black Africa far in the rear guard. Here too it was a sense of mastery, of human ability to command nature—not always bureaucratic in origin, since the better-off societies of Latin America moved more spontaneously in the same direction—that powered the change. The consequences of that change, of which we can still see only the beginnings, are enormous. Without it, the earth would now have some 2 billion more inhabitants.

In Europe and Japan, meanwhile, fertility has dropped no less dramatically, falling below net reproduction rates. This collapse in the birthrate, from which the United States is saved essentially by immigration, promises rapid aging of these nations in the short run and, if unchecked, virtual extinction of them in the long run. There is now a growing literature of public alarm about this prospect, what the French historian Pierre Chaunu denounces as a "White Death" threatening the Old World. Therborn eschews it.

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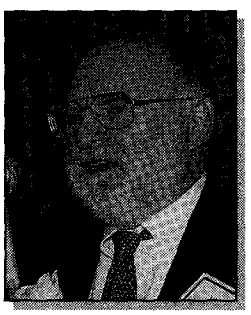

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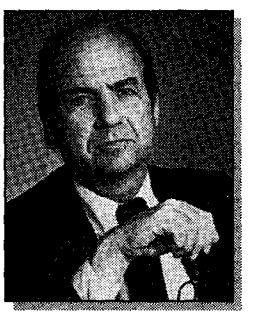

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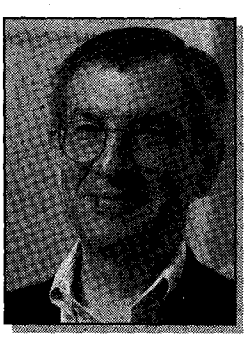

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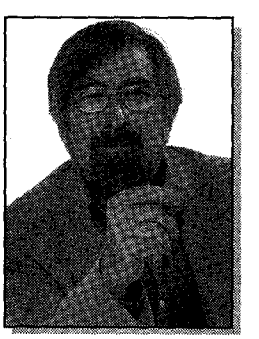

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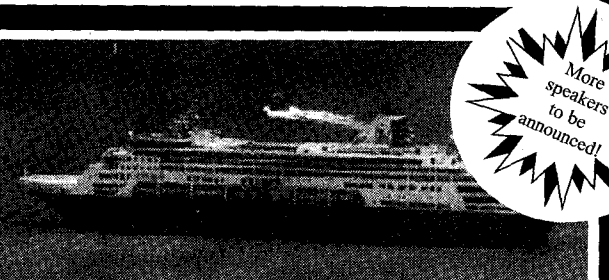

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Negative rates of reproduction in these rich, socially advanced societies do not correspond in his view to any birth strike by women but rather to their desire to have two to three children *and* careers that are the equal of men's, which the existing social order does not yet allow them to do. In denying themselves the offspring they want, European parents are "moving against themselves," not with the grain of any deeper cultural change.

Between Sex and Power ends with four principal conclusions. The different family systems of the world reveal little internal logic of change. They have been recast from the outside, and the history of their transformations has been neither unilinear nor evolutionary but rather determined by a series of unevenly timed international conjunctures of a decidedly political character. The result has not been one of convergence, other than in a general decline of patriarchy, due more to wars and revolutions than to any "feminist world spirit." In the South, the differential timing of changes in fertility continues to shift the distribution of global population further toward the subcontinent and Africa and away from Europe, Japan and Russia. In the North, European marriage has altered its forms but is proving supple and creative in adapting to a new range of desires: Conventional jeremiads notwithstanding, it is in good shape. Predictions? Serenely declined. "The best bet for the future is on the inexhaustible innovative capacity of humankind, which eventually surpasses all social science."

In due course, an army of specialists will gather round *Between Sex and Power*, like so many expert sports fans, to pore over its multitudinous argument. What can a layman say, beyond the magnitude of its achievement? Tentatively, perhaps only this. In the architectonic of the book, there is something of a gap between the notion of a family system and the triad of patriarchy, marriage and fertility that follows it. In effect, the way these three interconnect to form the structure of any family system goes unstated in the separate treatment accorded each. But if we consider the trio as an abstract combination, it would seem that logically—as the order in which Therborn proceeds to them itself suggests—patriarchy must command the other two as the "dominant," since it will typically lay down the rules of marriage and set the norms of reproduction. There is, in other words, a hierarchy of determinations built into any family system.

This has a bearing on Therborn's conclusions. His final emphasis falls, unhesitatingly, on the divergence between major family systems today. After stressing continuing worldwide dissimilarities between fertility and marital regimes, he concedes that "the patriarchal outcome is somewhat different." His own evidence suggests that this way of putting it is an understatement. For what his data show is a powerful process of convergence, far from complete in extent but unequivocal in direction. But if the variegated forms of patriarchy are what historically determined the main parameters of marriage and reproduction, wouldn't any ongoing decline of them across family systems toward a common juridical zero point imply that birthrates and marriage customs are eventually likely to converge, in significant measure, at their own pace too? That seems, at any rate, a possible deduction sidestepped by Therborn, but which his story of fertility appears to bear out. For what is clear from his account is that the astonishing fall in birthrates in most of the underdeveloped world has been the product of a historic collapse in patriarchal authority, as its powers of life and death have been transferred to the state, which now determines how many are born and how many survive.

War and revolutions, more than any 'feminist world spirit,' have determined the transformations of the family in the twentieth century.

What, then, of marriage? Here, certainly, contrasts remain greatest. In speaking of "the core of romantic freedom and commitment in the modern European (and New World) family system," Therborn implies this remains specific to the West. But while the caste system or Sharia law plainly preclude extempore love, does it show no signs of spreading, as ideal or realization, in the big cities of East Asia or Latin America? The imagination of urban Japan, he shows, is already half-seized with it. Not, of course, that the decline of marriage in Western Europe, with the advent of mass cohabitation, has so far been replicated anywhere else. But here a different sort of question might be asked. Is it really the case that the negative rates of reproduction that have accompanied this pattern are as unwished-for as Therborn suggests? He relies on the discrepancy between surveys in which women explain how many children they expect and those they actually have. But this could just mean that in practice their desire for children proved weaker than for a well-paid job, a satisfying career or more than one lover at a time. Voters in the West regularly say they want better schools and healthcare, and in principle expect to pay for them, and commentators on the left often pin high hopes on such declarations. But once such citizens get to the polling booth they tend to stick to lower taxes. The same kind of self-deception could apply to children. If so, it would be difficult to say European marriage was in such good shape, since there would be no stopping place in sight for its plunge of society into an actuarial abyss.

Therborn resists such thoughts. Although *Between Sex and Power* pays handsome homage to the role of Communism in the dismantling of patriarchy in the twentieth century, it displays no specially Marxist view of the family. Engels would not have shared the author's satisfaction that marriage *is flourishing*, however ductile the forms it has adopted. In expressing his attachment to them, Therborn speaks with the humane voice of a level-headed Swedish reformism that he understandably admires, without having ever altogether subscribed to it. In looking on the bright side of the EU marital regime, he is also consistent with the case he has made in the past for its welfare states, which have survived in much better condition than its critics or mourners believe. It is in the same spirit, one might say, that he insists on the persistent divergence of family systems across the world. Uniformity is the one condition every part of the political spectrum deplores. The most unflinching neoliberals invariably explain that universal free markets are the best of all guardians of diversity. Social democrats reassure their followers that the capitalism to which they must adjust is becoming steadily more various. Traditional conservatives expatiate on the irreducible multiplicity of faiths and civilizations. Homogeneity has no friends, at least since the French Hegelian philosopher Alexandre Kojève prepared the end of history for Francis Fukuyama. But when any claim becomes too choral, a flicker of doubt is indicated. It scarcely affects the magnificence of this book. In it, you can find the largest changes in human relations of modern times. ■

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Discovery/*The Nation* '05 Prizewinners

The Nation *announces the winners of* Discovery/ The Nation, *the Joan Leiman Jacobson Poetry Prize. Now in its thirty-first year, it is an annual contest for poets whose work has not been published previously in book form. The new winners are Stacie Cassarino, Eduardo C. Corral, Dave Lucas and Rita Mae Reese. This year's judges are Glyn Maxwell, Elise Paschen and Liam Rector. As in the past, manuscripts are judged anonymously. Distinguished former winners of* Discovery/ The Nation *include Susan Mitchell, Katha Pollitt, Mary Jo Salter, Sherod Santos, Arthur Smith, David St. John and Mark Irwin. This year's* Discovery/ The Nation *event, featuring readings by the four winners, is scheduled for 8:15 PM on Monday, May 16, at The Unterberg Poetry Center, 92nd Street Y, 1395 Lexington Avenue (92nd Street and Lexington Avenue) in New York City.*

—Grace Schulman, poetry editor

Midwest Eclogue

The first day it feels like Fall
I want to tell my secrets
recklessly until there is nothing
you don't know that would make
your heart change years from now.
How foolish we are to believe
we might outlive this distance.
I don't know the names for things
in the prairie, where the expanse
of light and the hissing of tall stalks
makes me move slowly,
like in another country before
I must share it with anyone.
In what do you believe?
In September's slight motion
of particulars, in the weight of birds,
in lust, propulsion, maps
that lie. You should not have loved
me. Now: goldenrod, prairie-clover,
the ovate-leafted bluebell with its open
throat, saying *how did you expect
to feel?* The colonies of prairie-smoke
and pods turning golden and papery,
the grassy plains iterating patience,
and things I cannot name.
Begin with apples reddening.
*Begin with a woman touching
the cities in your feet.* Hartford,
Anchorage, the Bronx. Did you ever
see yourself as more
than yourself? I walk into a part
of afternoon that deepens
inventing an endpoint
for sadness. Everyone is gone.
*On the subject of deception,
where do you stand?* There's a chill
in the air and the flowers know,
the goddamned flowers, their loosed
color. Sometimes we are cruel
and we mean it. We author the house
with its threadbare linens, the false
miniatures of people saying look at me.
*Will the landscape forgive you?
Is it yours to describe? What
is the sound inside your mouth?*
I'm surrounded by grasslands
in every direction. The sound
is a clamoring, because desire
is never singular and we want it
this way. We want it easy.
I have already let go
of summer. Here, the wind-
dispersal of seed and story. Love,
there are things I cannot name.

Stacie Cassarino

Beach Pea

Leave beauty to the rose
and its lexicon of crimsons.
O ruby petal and holy thorn—
poets, you can have it.

You, beach pea, rooted
in sand when all this land
was lake, when this lake
was Atlantic coast,

stranded when the glaciers
calved and receded—
leaving you and sea rocket,
purple sand-grass and spurge.

What genuine science,
what skill in your flowering:
you conjure nitrogen
from thin air and hold it,

hard as November wind,
in your roots. Deep
in the sterile loam, they spread
and keep what water they can.

Hardscrabble, this scratch
of beach offers nothing
but swells of dry surf.
Break and wash of waves

like the back and forth
of xylem and phloem
in your thin frame's
tiny musculature.

Pastel and crepe petal,
flower of work and mettle,
spread out, spread deep.
Bow to no one, to no rose.

Dave Lucas

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A History of Glass

When God closes a door, we break a window.
Sorry I say to the landlord who replaces it. *Sorry*
I say the next morning to the neighbor who

complains about the noise. An accident. She
waits for more of an explanation. So I
start at the beginning. The history of glass is a history

of accidents. Long ago and far away: a woman, a pot, a fire.
Her lover surprises her from behind, kisses her
until the pot glows, smoke rising like a choir.

She snatches it from the hearth
& drops it on the floor covered in sand
& ashes. (She is a good cook but not tidy.) Her lover

throws water on the whole mess: the sand hisses, her hand
burns. She can hardly see the hard new miracle
forming for the tears in her eyes, at her feet a new obsidian

spreads, clear & eddied. It will be 2000 years until
a tradesman molds by hand the small green & blue
glass animals (housed today on the second floor of a local

museum), & nearly 4000 before sheet glass in 1902.
(Many accidents happen during this period.) One hundred years
later the glass animals in the museum are visited by two

women: one marvels at their wholeness, except for an ear
or a nose or a paw; one does not marvel. She says, "They
survived because they're small." They stop for dinner,

mostly wine. They stumble home. Were there
eyewitnesses at that late hour when they embraced & fell?
Once inside there is a window of sheet glass & a bare

bulb burning out. In the darkness of the stairwell
they sink, dark coats spreading around them. The wind
rushes in. Remember the glass animals? They tell

a history of accidents too, accidents that are yet to happen.

Rita Mae Reese

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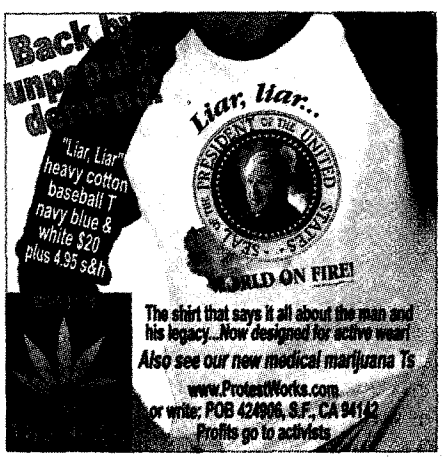
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Midnight Coffee: Rafael Rodriguez Rapún, 1936

O my arrow-eyed lover, sugar, radiant & icy,
scattered around my heels,
brings back the evening when the first shafts of moonlight
piercing a tall bedroom window
were crumbled in your palms, then sprinkled across the floor like snow
whose brilliance amplified
as I extinguished the candles of the candelabra—
Lorca, an olive-scented breeze rustling the leaves
of the lilac-stenciled wallpaper cooled the lengthening trail of sudor
rolling down my torso
Our bodies lit by the glare rising from the snow.
Your guitar on a chair, scoured by moonlight,
a striped moon stamped in its interior…
Your presence still seduces my eye: magnolia blossoms withering
on a sill, the cuffs they tore from your sleeves.
A silver kettle sings, steam rising, dissipating—
Andalusian ghost undressing.

Eduardo C. Corral

FILMS

Love on the Run

STUART KLAWANS

KINGS AND QUEEN • THE HITCHHIKER'S GUIDE TO THE GALAXY

She has the face of a mermaid—a real one, not a Disney blonde. The wide undulant mouth drinks in her world like oxygen; the hazel eyes reflect a bent and wavering light. The hair is wavy, of course, but also dark, weighty, enveloping, so that it looks more drenched than flowing. The luminous skin must be cool to the touch. No one with any sense would call this woman pretty; she's too beautifully unsettled for that.

He, on the other hand, is almost handsome, in a pinch-faced, unkempt, rodent-eyed, moss-toothed, dithering, vituperative, abandoned kind of way. You wonder that such a trim little man should persist in treating the entire world as a locked door, and himself as a battering ram. You marvel, once you've grown accustomed to his base level, that he never looks much worse for the blows. At times he even manages to dress with dash—although then, too, he overdoes things, alarming people by wrapping himself in the red cloak of a Renaissance duelist.

She is Nora (Emmanuelle Devos), the tragic heroine of Arnaud Desplechin's *Kings and Queen*. He is Ismaël (Mathieu Amalric), the film's comic hero. That two such characters should be able to coexist tells you most of what you need to know about Desplechin's uncontainable talent. His mind operates in bursts: unpredictable, overlapping flares of realism, fantasy, slapstick, pathos, poetry, suspense, which light up a broader emotional terrain than you'll find in any ten other movies this month. As with his mélange of genres, so too with his visual style—the way he cuts quickly, jumps through multiple views of a subject, pores over faces with a hand-held camera, changes the lighting in midscene. This abundance, which at times seems no more discriminat-

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ing than life itself, impresses you at once. How could it not, when the musical score encompasses Anton Webern, Henry Mancini and a crew of French hip-hoppers?

What's not immediately apparent in all this is that Desplechin's bursts are orderly. They fall into patterns. With the credible improbability of life itself, they give Nora and Ismaël a shared past and the hint of a conjoined future.

Nora, who narrates her part of the story in an incongruously wispy voiceover, first comes before the camera looking like the capable, responsible one. Beautifully groomed, 35 years old and the manager of a Paris art gallery, she is a woman who is used to having men wait on her—including the roughly handsome, wealthy fellow who is about to become her third husband. At this early stage in the film, only the slightest faults disrupt the surface calm, as Nora takes the train to Grenoble to visit her father (an elderly professor of classics) and her vacationing 10-year-old son (the product of her marriage to a man who died young). When her father suddenly has to go to the hospital, Nora remains controlled (or is able to pull herself quickly back to order), even as she finds herself charged with the care of a dying man.

Ismaël, who turns out to have been Nora's second husband, is clearly the incapable and irresponsible one. He, too, goes into the hospital at the start of the film—a psychiatric hospital in his case, to which he is committed by an unidentified third party. Given that Ismaël lets his phone ring off the hook, distributes bad checks like confetti, owes hundreds of thousands of francs in back taxes and keeps a footstool positioned under the noose in his living room—not to use, mind you, just to clarify his thoughts by showing himself it's an option—you may imagine that a little observation is called for, perhaps some adjustment of meds. Granted, Ismaël is a professional musician, the violist in a quartet, and so may indulge in a little aggression against bourgeois norms. (Or maybe not. His parents, who smilingly decline to untie him from his bed, keep him company in the hospital by reciting Guillaume Apollinaire's "Zone"—and yet they manage to live as grocers in a provincial town.) But even by artists' standards, or those of his dope-fiend lawyer, Ismaël is a wreck. How did Nora last six years with him?

The answer is that the cracks in Nora run deeper than you would have supposed from those subtle, early infelicities: the odd pause in the action, the momentarily blank response. Pretty soon, to your astonishment, you see her trying to put her one treasure, her son, into the adoptive care of Ismaël, who is still padding around the loony bin in his bathrobe, so she can go unencumbered into her new marriage to a man she frankly does not love. This is far from the worst that Nora has done, or is yet to suffer—but by this point *Kings and Queen* has drawn you so thoroughly into her emotions that you almost expect her to succeed in her desperate plan, and almost want her to.

As for Ismaël, he has no plans. He will put his lawyer in the clear, rescue a suicidal young woman, heal a rift in his family, resume a challenging musical career and set Nora's son on the path toward adulthood, all while behaving as if his pants are on fire. Blundering has seldom accomplished such a full and useful agenda.

A woman's story of guilty memories, sudden death, emotional violence, self-suppression; a man's story of pranks, pratfalls, sex and double talk. How does Desplechin make them one? On the most superficial and least satisfying level, he glues them together with imagery. Everywhere you look in *Kings and Queen* you see pictures from art history—reproduced as posters or calendars, framed in Nora's gallery or her father's home—all based on classical mythology. Through them, you are to understand that Ismaël is a laboring Hercules, though much smaller in stature, and Nora is a type of Leda, ravished by the terrible god who is her father. This doesn't get you very far—nor does Desplechin much advance your feeling for the characters by naming one after a defiant Ibsen heroine and the other after Melville's shipwreck survivor. I write off these frills to Desplechin's exuberance. His mind is so busy he can't stop himself from applying ornament to every surface.

Fortunately, though, there is a deeper unity to *Kings and Queen*, which comes from Desplechin's understanding of people's moral possibilities—an understanding that deserves to be called classical. He sees that Nora and Ismaël might be able to free themselves from their circumstances but not from their own natures. Hope therefore lies in their becoming more fully themselves, however frightening or absurd that may be. Ismaël must refuse yet another responsibility, the biggest of his life; Nora must burn something more out of herself, from the core. Then they may arrive at as happy an ending as life's troubled, ceaseless flow ever allows.

Desplechin describes *Kings and Queen* differently, of course. As a screenwriter and director, he thinks of how the film plays out in time: "A woman's destiny in an hour and five minutes. Another hour for the labors of Hercules. And ten minutes to save a child. We charge as fast as possible along all the fairy tales from which our lives are woven." Humans are fast, all right—blink and we're gone—but in naming the stuff of our brief lives, Desplechin does too little justice to himself, and to everything he's miraculously worked into his movie. Far more than most of his contemporaries, he knows we are woven of both story and substance, our old fables perpetually crossed with new blood, breath, spit, bile, song.

Ismaël, who quotes Yeats, might remind him of that. Ismaël would describe *Kings and Queen* as "the uncontrollable mystery on the bestial floor," in less than two and a half hours.

Douglas Adams died four years ago, when his proposed film version of *The Hitchhiker's Guide to the Galaxy* was still a rough draft. He'd certainly be pleased now, if the dead can entertain opinions on anything, that the picture has opened successfully, just in time to siphon thinking moviegoers away from the last *Star Wars* episode.

Of the two main components of *Star Wars* science fiction—mysticism and hardware, as Elizabeth Pochoda famously remarked—Adams was interested in neither. When he needed to invent a piece of space

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technology, he characteristically dreamed up the Improbability Drive, which conveys your rocket ship where you want to go by making your existence infinitely improbable. When he felt a note of profundity was called for, he typically demurred, preferring to be matter-of-fact: "Space," he advised, "is big." When he really got thinking about that bigness, he decided the most wonderful thing about the universe must be the insularity of the English people, who go about their daily business oblivious to the fact that they're being blown all around the cosmos.

Adams related the interstellar adventures of one of these English people, the unfortunate Arthur Dent, in his 1978 BBC radio play *The Hitchhiker's Guide to the Galaxy*, then in a novel of the same name, then in further novels and an interactive computer game, and ultimately in his unfinished screenplay. Now Karey Kirkpatrick has reworked the script, Garth Jennings (a star of music videos) has directed and *The Hitchhiker's Guide* is at last in theaters, where it gives the raspberries to every piety in our God-bothering culture.

Maybe I'm being insular in an American way, but I think we need *The Hitchhiker's Guide* more keenly than the English ever have, and more today than in the late 1970s. The Brits don't have to be told they're madly, myopically provincial—they've laughed about that trait for centuries. Americans of the late Bush era, on the other hand, will benefit enormously from the information in this movie, first because it brings them up to date about Copernicus, second because it explains that humans are only one species on earth and third (this is the advanced material) because it reveals that rational beings on most other planets don't think about a Supreme Being—though if they do, they assume the Creator must be a sadistic incompetent.

The makers of *The Hitchhiker's Guide*, by contrast, are skillful—especially the production designer, Joel Collins, who has realized the principal spaceship in a spirit of 1970s plastic-blob *luxe* and the principal pursuit craft (belonging to galactic bureaucrats) as the ultimate vehicles for squares. Martin Freeman (of television's *The Office*) is appropriately hapless as Arthur; Mos Def is sly and genial as his alien companion, Ford Prefect; Sam Rockwell, in the picture's big star turn, overacts just enough as the President of the Galaxy, a two-headed yet brainless fellow dressed out of the glitz-rock era; and Zooey Deschanel holds many close-ups very charmingly as Arthur's love interest, the only other human to have survived planet Earth. ■

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RICHMOND, VA, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP is forming. Please contact Jerry Gorman if you're interested in joining. (804) 266-7400; e-mail: gorfam@comcast.net.

JOIN THE ATLANTA, GEORGIA, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP! Contact Mel Rechtman (404) 325-8435, rechtmam@bellsouth.net.

TUCSON, AZ, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP FORMING. Contact Dave at (520) 885-4767.

DENTON (CORINTH), TX, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP is forming. Contact John at (940) 498-4485 or john2348@charter.net for more information.

WILLOW SPRINGS, NC, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP forming. E-mail Mollie Belcher at Mjb1009@msn.com for more information.

POLICY

END THE DRUG WAR. See www.CommonSenseDrugPolicy.org, www.DrugWarFacts.org, www.DRCNet.org, www.MedicalMJ.org, www.DrugSense.org, www.AddictInTheFamily.org.

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

NEED FREELANCE AGENT to connect painter/sculptor with dealers, curators, collectors, critics. Call (203) 264-2090 for details.

WEB EDITOR WANTED: *The Nation* seeks a full-time web editor with progressive politics, boundless energy and a strong commitment to help amplify the influence and scope of the magazine's online presence. The web editor will work closely with magazine editors as well as business staffers in developing the site. Major responsibilities include planning, creating and implementing new *Nation* online features; conceiving and executing the creation of online enhancements to articles originating from the print magazine; assisting in outreach to other online media; coordinating breaking online news coverage; and editing original *Nation* online articles. Ideal candidate has at least three years of experience working at a political website, closely follows the news media—print, broadcast and online—has broad familiarity with the progressive community, keeps abreast of alternative and youth culture, works well with a wide array of individuals, internal departments and outside organizations and is comfortable with very tight deadline pressure. Familiarity with HTML and online production and content management a plus. Applicant must work in *The Nation*'s New York City office. Position offers generous benefits and a convivial work atmosphere. *The Nation* is an equal opportunity employer; people of color and other minorities strongly encouraged to apply. E-mail résumé, cover letter and salary requirements to: webjob@thenation.com. No calls please.

BOOK EDITOR. South End Press seeks editor/activist, minimum three years experience, with exceptional organizational, communication and computer skills and demonstrated commitment to social justice. $37,500 for thirty-two-hour week plus 20 percent dependent allowance, full health/dental, flex-time, four weeks vacation/year. People of color strongly encouraged to apply. Deadline: June 30. Send résumé and cover letter to: Personnel, 7 Brookline St., Suite 1, Cambridge, MA 02139.

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

***NATION* STUDENT OUTREACH:** Attention student activists! If you're involved in organizing a progressive event, lecture or film festival on your campus or in your community and would like to distribute copies of *The Nation*, please let us know by calling (212) 209-5416.

THE NATION INSTITUTE, a public charity, seeks an experienced financial administrator in NYC office. Responsibilities include creation of annual budget, administration of employee benefits, processing of grants and management of various project funds. Knowledge of QuickBooks and Excel essential. Must be able to handle multiple tasks and work on deadline. Excellent math and communications skills required. Congenial work atmosphere and excellent benefits. Minorities and people of color are strongly encouraged to apply. Send résumé and cover letter with salary requirements to The Nation Institute, 33 Irving Place, 8th Floor, New York, NY 10003. Fax: (212) 982-4022. No phone calls please.

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Deadline: Tuesday, 3 PM, 10 days prior to Monday issue date.

Payment in US currency or major credit card must accompany order.

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The Nation, Classified Department, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003

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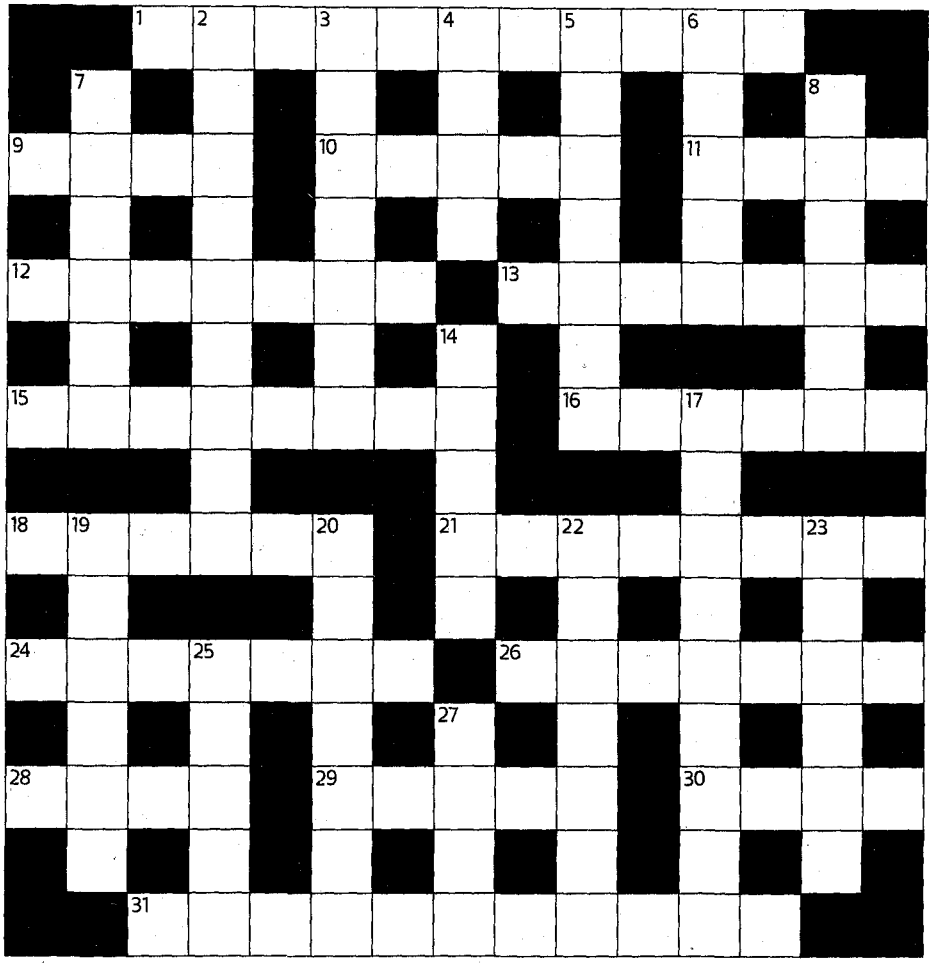
PUZZLE NO. 2989

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 What a poser has to put up with, having to avoid what is an easy prey. (7,4)

9 and **19** down Proving a sticker is relatively clean-minded by comparison. (4,2,1,3)

10 and **11** Cried when the blowers-up are starting to make a come-down. (5,4)

12 There's nothing more difficult around, being one who saves, and saves and saves... (7)

13 ...while Miss Gardner and Condi show a quality that 12 might have. (7)

15 Certainly not a real good winner, being sort of bald, and possibly sore with it. (3,5)

16 Bill may be in it, when the cops, as some say, return to allow the rest. (6)

18 Pa's helper has a story about what is supposedly hot. (6)

21 See 25 down

24 Happily intoxicated in Rome, with what one might take on return with a stylish following. (7)

26 Carve up the animal when the different sides go to court, briefly. (7)

28 A faithful friend, as his name implies. (4)

29 and **4** down How is it possible to take the subway to a place in Alaska? It might prove how the player gets beat! (9)

30 They may fly well, but are only half of the deadly holding at a famous shoot-out. (4)

31 One who counts every body, and uses rank, etc., to get such results. (6,5)

DOWN

2 Among other things, I, in a later form, might become it. (5,4)

3 What the host might pick up allows this to be either written on or swallowed. (7)

4 See 29 across

5 Improperly said to have what the groom makes, otherwise to refuse to claim anything. (7)

6 What the presiding person takes to be a 23 type possibly—obviously a rich sort. (5)

7 A couple of gents properly came from here just for play, shown when you have Ron around. (6)

8 Not very couth, certainly! (6)

14 The thief of Baghdad would be one, brought up to date. (5)

17 Evidently the coach is not on time, this being far from the embryonic type. (4,5)

19 See 9 across

20 Mysterious machines used by the Germans—Holst utilizing some variations of them. (7)

22 Now a memorial, in a different state from this. (7)

23 One who was "with it" in musical terms—a favorite of JFK. Off yours? Crazy! (6)

25 and **21** across One might do it when shutting up the house, but sailors used to get engaged at this. (5,8)

27 One might consider it so different, being at one time a regretful miss. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 2988

		C	O	N	N	E	C	T	I	C	U	T		
	M		N		O		O		R		K		B	
M	I	S	T	R	I	A	L		A	V	A	L	O	N
	R		H		S		D		N		S		B	
C	A	M	E	L	O	T		D	I	S	E	A	S	E
	G		S		M		S		A				U	
P	E	O	P	L	E		W	I	N	D	P	I	P	E
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H	Y	S	T	E	R	I	A		A	R	T	H	U	R
	A				E		T		E		P		P	
E	N	T	R	O	P	Y		A	R	M	O	I	R	E
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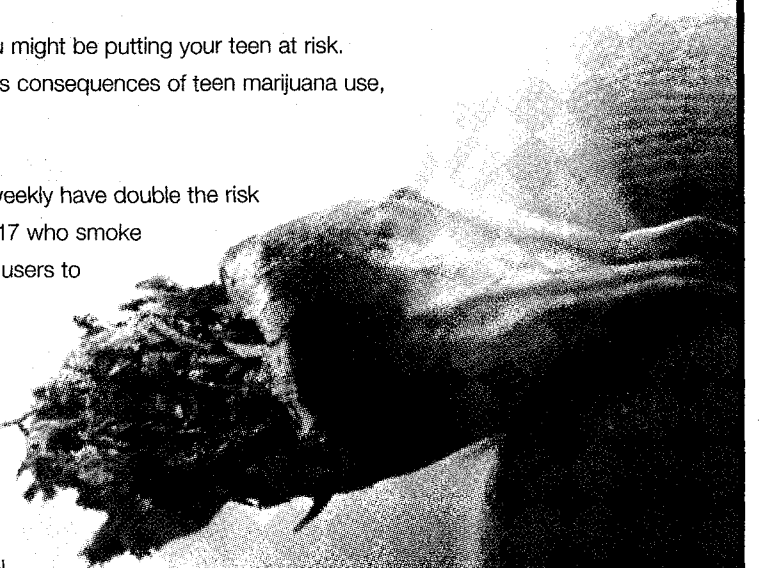
MARIJUANA AND YOUR TEEN'S MENTAL HEALTH

Office of National Drug Control Policy

Depression. Suicidal Thoughts. Schizophrenia.

If you have outdated perceptions about marijuana, you might be putting your teen at risk. New research is giving us better insight into the serious consequences of teen marijuana use, especially how it impacts mental health.



Did you know that young people who use marijuana weekly have double the risk of depression later in life?[1] And that teens aged 12 to 17 who smoke marijuana weekly are three times more likely than non-users to have suicidal thoughts?[2]

And if that's not bad enough, marijuana use in some teens has been linked to increased risk for schizophrenia in later years.[3]

Today's teens are smoking a more potent drug[4] and starting use at increasingly younger ages during crucial brain development years.[5] Still think marijuana's no big deal?

Remember, you are the most important influence in your teen's life when it comes to drugs,[6] so tell your teen the facts about marijuana. Teens who learn about the risks from their parents are less likely to smoke marijuana or use other drugs than teens who don't.

Let your teens know you don't want them using marijuana. Their mental health may depend on it.

Signed,

- *American Psychiatric Association*
- *American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry*
- *American Society of Addiction Medicine*
- *Asian Community Mental Health Services*
- *Association for Medical Education and Research in Substance Abuse*
- *Institute for Behavior and Health, Inc.*
- *National Asian American Pacific Islander Mental Health Association*
- *National Association of Addiction Treatment Providers*
- *National Council for Community Behavioral Healthcare*
- *National Latino Behavioral Health Association*
- *National Medical Association*
- *Office of National Drug Control Policy*
- *Partnership for a Drug-Free America*

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www.theantidrug.com

[1]Patton, GC et al. Cannabis use and mental health in young people: cohort study. *British Medical Journal*, 325: 1195–1198, 2002. [2]Greenblatt, J. Adolescent self-reported behaviors and their association with marijuana use, Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA), 1998. [3]Arseneault, L. et al. Cannabis use in adolescence and risk for adult psychosis: longitudinal prospective study. *British Medical Journal*, 325: 1212–1213, 2002; Veen, N et al. Cannabis use and age at onset of schizophrenia. *The American Journal of Psychiatry*, 161: 501–506, 2004. [4]*Marijuana Potency Monitoring Project. Report No. 83*, University of Mississippi, 2003. [5]SAMHSA Trends in Initiation of Substance Use, 2003. [6]SAMHSA. Parental Disapproval of Youths' Substance Abuse, 2002.

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We apologize that it loses 1 second every 20 million years...

The classic watch built with German precision to 1 billionth of a second?

There is a new super-accurate government device that gives you a perfect use for atomic theory. The US government has engineered the most ingenious, most accurate clock in the world, the new F-1 U.S. Atomic Clock in Boulder, Colorado. Our extraordinary new Stauer EMC^2 watch uses this clock to report the exact time from this remarkable cesium fission clock. So you are on time...all the time. This amazing clock will gain or lose only one second over a twenty million-year period. It is that accurate!

This perfectly tuned technological invention is now available for UNDER $100. And you'll never have to set this watch...the hands set themselves. Just push one of the buttons and you are synchronized with the F-1 and the hands of the watch move to the exact time position. The Stauer EMC^2 exceeds the accuracy of any Swiss luxury automatic so you can be more accurate and keep most of your money in your wallet... not on your wrist.

There are some unattractive plastic digital atomic watches on the market, but when our German movement maker made it possible for us to break the $100 price barrier with a beautiful, classically styled stainless steel analog watch, we were truly excited.

The operation of atomic precision depends on an electrical oscillator regulated by the natural vibration frequencies of an atomic system (as a beam of cesium atoms) accuracy to about one second in 20 million years, making it the most accurate clock ever made.

The EMC^2 features precise atomic time with an automatic Standard time and Daylight Saving Time adjustment. It will adjust for leap years and even leap seconds! A breakthrough in technology at a breakthrough price.

The large numeric markers are luminescent and extremely easy to read so the watch is perfect for low light situation. The EMC^2 is water-resistant to 5 atms as well. The small readout shows you the date and has a digital second counter. This watch is rugged enough to take to the gym but handsome enough to wear to the boardroom or out to dinner. The designers built this watch for those who prefer their watches to be practical and sharp-looking rather than overrated and overpriced.

How can it be so accurate? The new F-1 clock uses laser beams to measure the photons emitted from the cesium atom to measure the resonance frequency. This laser-cooling clock makes it about 20 times more accurate than any other clock on earth.

This timepiece is a great gift for anyone who values precision and technology. Know precisely when the markets open and close. Know the times for landings and take offs or when the train is leaving the station. If punctuality and accuracy matter, then this watch was built for you.

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This amazing watch is not available in stores and it comes with our 30 day money-back guarantee. If you're not completely satisfied with the accuracy, simply return the watch for the full purchase price.

Not Available in Stores

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